

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AIRTEL

DATE: 7/11/86

TO : DIRECTOR FBI

FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK (197-580) (P) (LEGAL 19)

SUBJECT: PROVISIONAL PARTY OF COMMUNIST (PPC), aka
ET AL
DOMESTIC SECURITY - TERRORISM

Re Bureau telcal from [redacted] on July 11, 1986.

Enclosed for the Bureau are all Bulky Exhibits and
FD-192 Inventory Sheets re: 100-182949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/2/95 BY SP9 AG/dmj

Enclosure detached
7-22-86

1 cc & enclosure retained by
CDRU II Rm 5442 7-22-86/12/

100-486889-239

2 JUL 14 1986

- 3 - Bureau
(1 - with package)
- 1 - New York

RCM:hb
(5)

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4/24/86
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7/27/87

LH

RB

Acting Director, FBI

ADIC, New York

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CPUSA
FCI-R
OO: NEW YORK

This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its entirety.

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[Redacted] (S)

Re New York LHM dated 3/30/87.

This is to advise New York that representative of OIPR, DOJ, has reviewed and approved the referenced annual letterhead memorandum (LHM) summary for the captioned subject.

New York should ensure proper ticklers are set to facilitate receipt of the next summary LHM on or before 10/5/87.

NOTE:

This communication advises New York of review and approval of annual LHM on the captioned subject and requests New York to ensure next summary LHM is received at FBIHQ 10/5/87.

(X)u
CSN

100-486889-229X

JUL 24 1987

10/23/95
Classified by *SP9AG/amy*
Declass on: OADR

19
AUG 18 1987

ENCLOSURE

- Exec AD Adm. _____
- Exec AD Inv. _____
- Exec AD LES _____
- Asst. Dir.:
- Adm. Servs. _____
- Crim. Inv. _____
- Ident. _____
- Insp. _____
- Intell. _____
- Lab. _____
- Legal Coun. _____
- Off. Cong. & Public Affs. _____
- Rec. Mgnt. _____
- Tech. Servs. _____
- Training _____
- Telephone Rm. _____
- Director's Sec'y _____

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Classified by: ~~X~~ G-3
Declassify on: ~~X~~ OADR

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MAIL ROOM []
4 FEB 27 1988



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U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Intelligence Policy and Review

Washington, D.C. 20530

July 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO: Assistant Director, FBI, Intelligence Division
FROM: ~~SPH~~ Office of Intelligence Policy and Review
SUBJECT: CPUSA

and copy to ... A.I.S./rad

I have reviewed the 90-day LHM progress report of the [redacted] (S) b1 dated [redacted] from the [redacted] field office pertaining to the U.S. person captioned above.

I have approved the annual LHM progress report of the [redacted] (S) b1 dated 3/30/87 from the NY field office pertaining to the U.S. person captioned above. The facts as reported therein satisfy the requirements of the Attorney General's Guidelines.

I have reviewed the annual LHM progress report of the [redacted] (S) b1 dated [redacted] from the [redacted] field office pertaining to the U.S. person captioned above. The information provided does not appear to meet the standards of the Attorney General's Guidelines. Please provide additional information regarding the following:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

10/12/95
Classified by SP9 AG/dmj
Declassify on: OADR

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~~Classified by Derivative, FBI Report
dated 3/30/87
Declassify on: OADR~~

100-486889-2
ENCLOSURE



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~

New York, New York

MAR 30 1987

Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA);
Foreign Counterintelligence - Russia

This communication is classified "~~Secret~~ - No Foreign
Dissemination - No dissemination abroad" (S-NFD-NDA) in its
entirety.

[Redacted]

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Office of Origin

New York (NY).

Date Summary Prepared

February 10, 1987

All assets mentioned in this communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

Basis For Investigation

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), in
general, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), in
particular, continue to provide leadership to the CPUSA. In the
United States (US), the CPUSA is the organization used by the
Soviet Union (SU), to further its own goals through
Marxist-Leninist objectives. The CPSU continues to furnish
direction and guidance regarding policy matters to the CPUSA.
The CPUSA continues to receive funding from the USSR. (X)U.

CLASSIFIED BY ~~6-3~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside your agency.

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

CPUSA

[Redacted]

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The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), characterizes the CPUSA as an arm of the International Communist Movement dominated by the Soviet Union. (X)4

Investigation to Date

I. Organization

The National Headquarters for the Communist Party, United States American (CPUSA), is located at 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY.

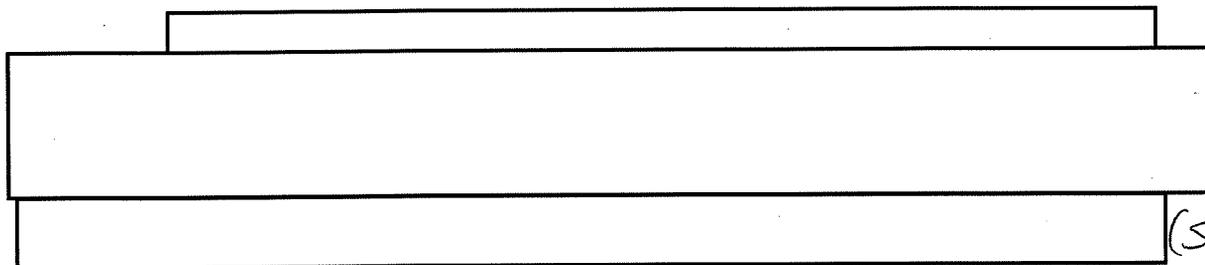
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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The organizational structure of the CPUSA is set forth
as:

National Convention

The National Convention is the highest authority of the CPUSA. It has the authority to make political and organizational decisions that are binding upon the entire party and its membership. The National Conventions are held every four years.

Central Committee (CC)

Members of the Central Committee are elected by the delegates at the National Convention by means of a secret ballot. In addition to individual merit, National Convention Delegates also consider such factors as class and social composition, geographical representation and political importance of the districts represented, in their selection of Central Committee members.

Between National Conventions, the CC is the highest body of authority.

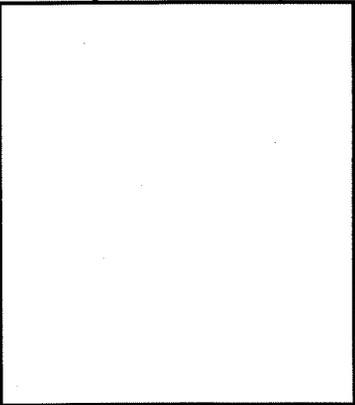
Political Bureau (PB)

The PB is comprised of individuals serving on the CC. The PB serves as the major decision making body of the CC between the bi-annual CC meetings. The PB is comprised of 15 members. The following constitute the PB:

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

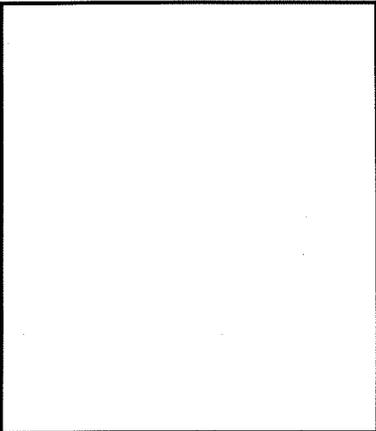
1. Gus Hall
2. Henry Winston (Deceased)
3. 
- 4.
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- 6.
- 7.
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Central Review Commission

The Central Review Commission (CRC) is comprised of 25 members. The CRC safeguards the security and standards of the CPUSA. It oversees the use of funds and is responsible for discipline measures.

Some members of the CRC are:

1. 
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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15. [redacted]
16. Carl Winter
17. [redacted] Last Name Unknown (LNU)) (California)
18. [redacted] (LNU) (Rhode Island)
19. [redacted]
20. [redacted]
21. [redacted]

National Council (NC)

The purpose of the NC is to assist the CC in probing questions of policy. The NC is larger than the CC; most of the members of the CC also serve on the NC.

Secretariat

The Secretariat organizes the implementation, through the various departments of the ideological and political work as directed by the PB. Members of the Secretariat are elected by the PB. The Secretariat is supposed to have heads of some of the Departments.

The Secretariat is comprised of ten members, which are presently as follows:

1. Gus Hall
2. Henry Winston (Deceased)
3. [redacted]
4. [redacted]
5. [redacted]
6. [redacted]
7. [redacted]
8. [redacted]
9. [redacted]
10. [redacted]

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The CC also has eight departments that assist the CC in the operations of CPUSA. The eight departments are as follows:

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

1. Organization Department
2. Labor Department
3. Education Department
4. Peace Council Department
5. Communications and Media Department
6. International Affairs Department
7. Nationalities Department
8. Social and Economic Rights Department

On the local level, as opposed to the National Level of CPUSA, the organizational structure consists of state and/or district organizations, and for smaller communities and/or smaller geographical areas, clubs are formed.

There are currently 31 state and/or district organizations. Within the state and/or district structure, the CPUSA has approximately 245 club organizations throughout the US.

II. Leadership

Gus Hall, as General Secretary continues as the leading official within the CPUSA. Since the death of Henry Winston, National Chairman, the position has remained vacant.

Changes within the leadership ranks of the state and/or district organizations are set forth by respective districts. Respective FBI Divisions are in parentheses.

Alabama District (Birmingham)

District and/or State Organization Leaders

1986 District Officers are believed to be as follows:

Members on the Central Committee:

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

New England District (Boston)
Rhode Island District (Boston)
Maine District (Boston)

District and/or State Organization Leaders:

Name

Title

[Redacted Name]

[Redacted Title]

[Redacted Title]

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[Redacted Name]

[Redacted Title]

[Redacted Name]

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[Redacted Name]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[Redacted]

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Illinois District (Chicago)

District and/or State Organization Leaders

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] who have desks at the District
Headquarters.

The position of Illinois CP chairman has remained vacant
since the death of former chairman Charles Wilson in late 1984.

[Redacted] former
duties, continues to be the District's labor coordinator.

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[Redacted] considered to be a member of the Illinois

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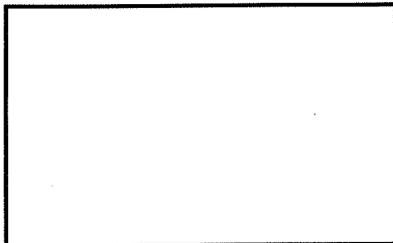
Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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least [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Members on the CPUSA Central Committee:

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Members on National Council:

Unknown. Illinois CP members [redacted]

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[redacted] were among the
Illinois CP members last known to be on the CPUSA National
Council.

Changes in Leadership:

The only leadership change of significance involves the
Illinois CP's very active TUAD front group where Illinois CP
member [redacted]
[redacted] out of New York City as the
new World Federation of Trade Unions' representative to the
United Nations. [redacted]
[redacted] of the monthly publication "Labor Today".

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During early 1986, [redacted] of the
party's Chicago based national Labor Department was reported to
be quite dissatisfied with the increasing reluctance of Illinois
CP (and CPUSA Central Committee) member [redacted]
[redacted]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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Chicago, handles the day to day affairs of that body. [redacted]
[redacted] has thus far been unable to come up with a suitable
replacement [redacted]

California District (San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento

CPUSA leadership in California is provided by the
following:

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted]

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Members on the Central Committee from San Francisco in
the national organization:

[redacted]
Herbert Aptheker
[redacted]

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Members on the National Council from San Francisco in
the national organization:

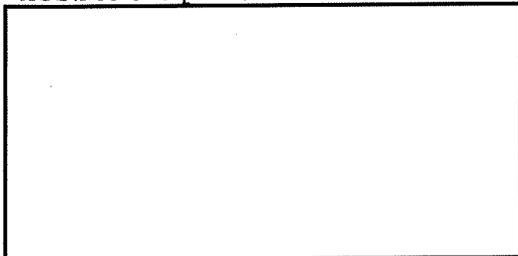
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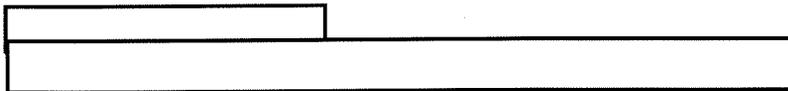
Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

Herbert Aptheker



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Los Angeles County Chairperson:

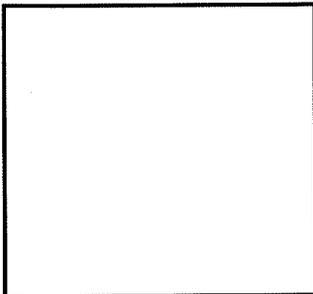


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The following persons from the Los Angeles area attended the Communist Party National Leadership School in New York during this past year: 

 moved to Connecticut, city not known, and formed a new chapter of the Communist Party.

Los Angeles County Executive Committee:



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The County Executive Committee has been reduced from twelve members to nine. Four members were released for unspecified reasons. 

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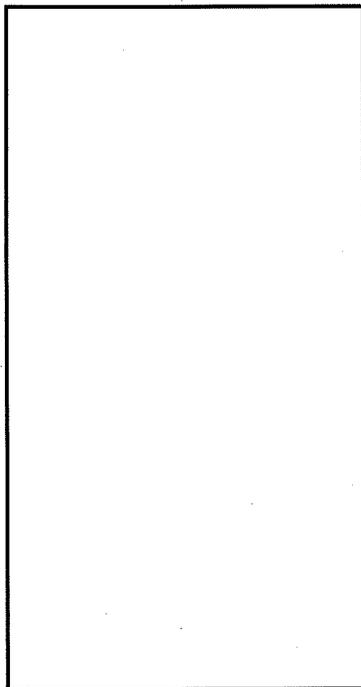
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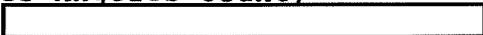
Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

Los Angeles County Committee:



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The Los Angeles County Committee is an elected position from the various clubs within the Los Angeles County. The Los Angeles County Committee then elects the members of the Los Angeles County Executive Committee. Both committees serve for a period of four years or until removed. The Los Angeles County Committee has been reduced this year by seven members. The reductions are due to transfer of members, illness, and lack of participation.

There has been no change in Los Angeles County Leadership other than as noted above. 


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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

[REDACTED]

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On September 27, 1985, assets reported growing discontent among members of the Communist Party regarding the leadership [REDACTED] accused of showing partiality to the Chicano population at the expense of the blacks. There has also been considerable discontent shown by the elderly members of the Party over the lack of commitment among the newer members, primarily the rushing of new members into leadership roles without proper training or indoctrination, only to see them drop out in a relatively short period of time.

Leadership within the Sacramento section of the CPUSA is responsive to leadership within the California District, San Francisco, California.

According to assets, leaders of local clubs are as follows:

Pablo Neruda Club	- [REDACTED]
Mother Bore Club	- [REDACTED]
Oscar A. Romero Club	- No specific leader

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Ohio District (Cleveland)

District and/or State Organization Leaders:

[REDACTED]

State Committee - Frieda Katz
(Died in July, 1986)

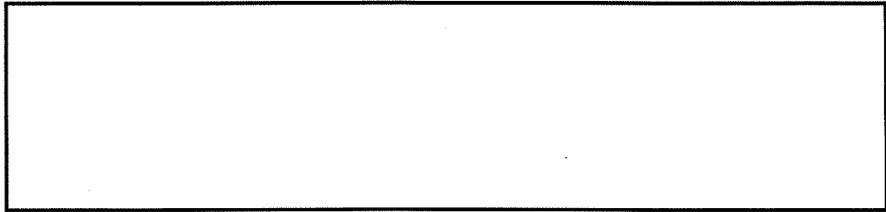
Michigan District (Detroit)

State Organization Leaders:

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)



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Members of the Central Committee:



Helen Winter

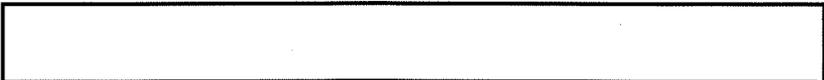
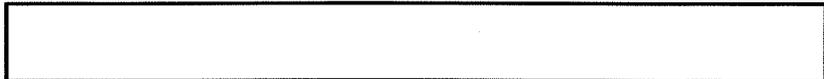


Carl Winter

Members of the National Council:



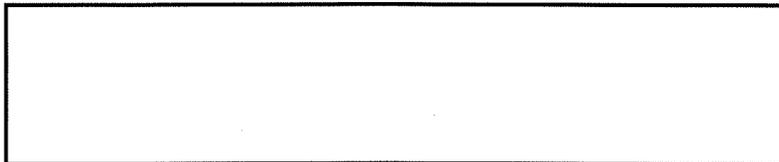
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Winconsin District (Milwaukee)

The current leadership of the CPW consists of the following officials:

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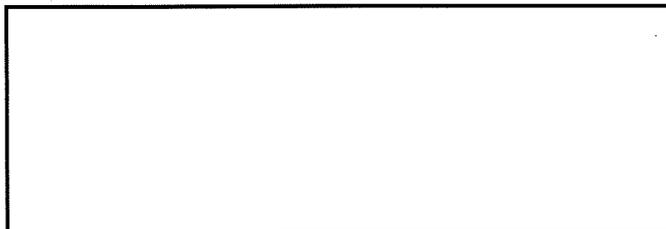
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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Members on the Central Committee (CC):



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Members on the National Council (NC):



District 2, New York (New York)

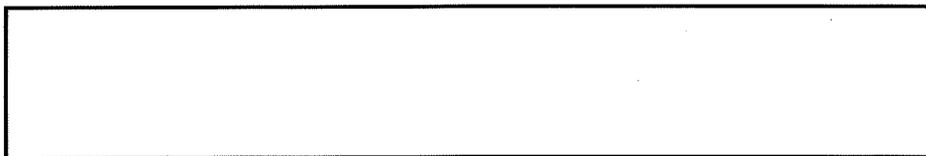
The leadership of District Two is delegated to various bodies. These bodies are as follows:

Organization Bureau: The Organizational Bureau is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the District. They carry out the policy as mandated by the District Board and District Committee. The Organizational Bureau operates from the 6th Floor of 235 West 23rd Street, New York City. All members of the Organizational Bureau are full-time employees.

Name

Title

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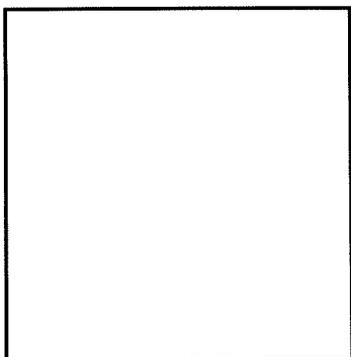
District Two Board: The Board recommends policy to the District Two Committee. The Board meets every two weeks; the Committee meets every six weeks. The following individuals

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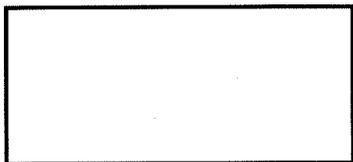
Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

comprise the Board:



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District Two Committee: The District Two Committee is the highest authority in the District. They vote on recommendations made by the Board and set District policy. The following individuals comprise the Committee:



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District Two members on the Political Bureau are:



Gus Hall



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District Two members on the Central Committee:

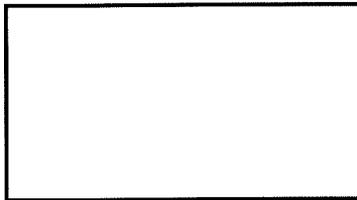


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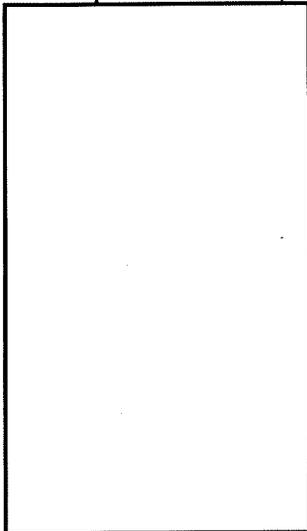
Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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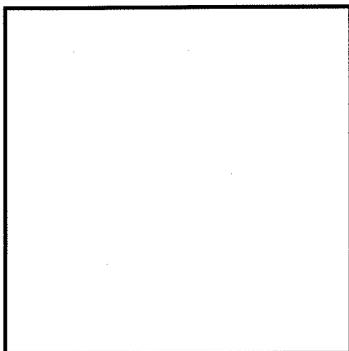
Gus Hall
Henry Winston (Deceased)

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District Two members on the National Council:

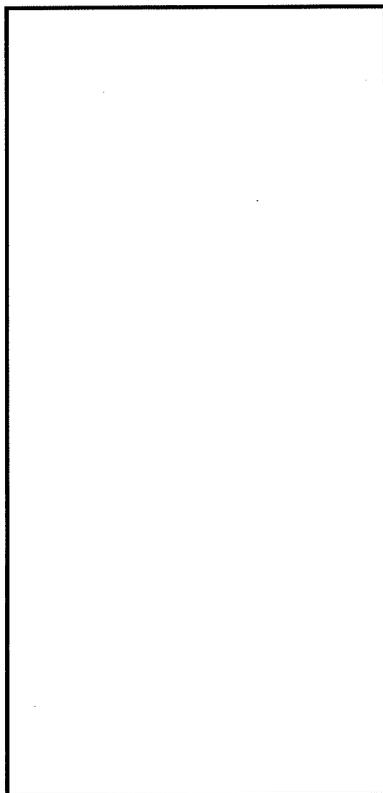
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)



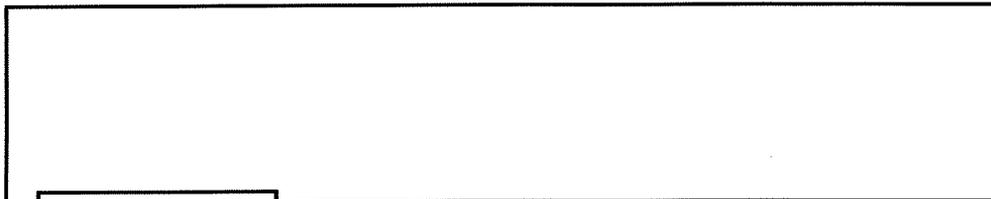
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Phil Bart

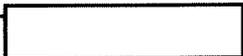


Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (Philadelphia)

District Leadership



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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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Members of Political Bureau:

Members of Central Committee:

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Members of National Council:

Western Pennsylvania District (Pittsburgh)

There are four clubs in the WPD-CPUSA. They are identified as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Leader</u>	<u>Approximate Membership</u>
East Liberty Club I		28
East Liberty Club II		15
Butler Club		7
Beaver Valley Club		4 - 6

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

Leaders of the WPD-CPUSA are as follows:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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The Executive Committee operates by formulating a policy. The proposed policy is then presented to the District Committee. Asset advised that the weekly Executive Committee meeting has been very useful in carrying out directives or suggestions from CPUSA Headquarters. This small group is able to function on a regular basis which improves the overall effectiveness of the effort.

Individuals considered to possess leadership potential in the WPD-CPUSA are [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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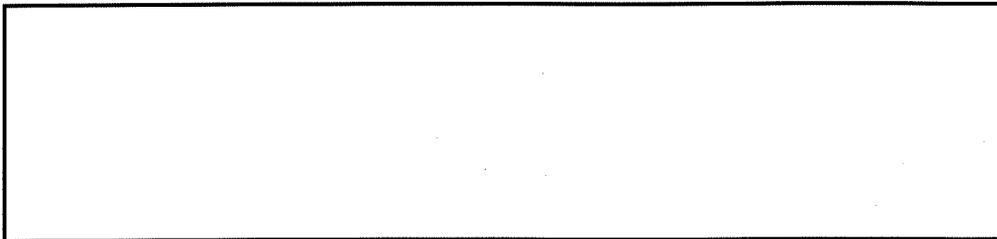
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

Oregon District (Portland)

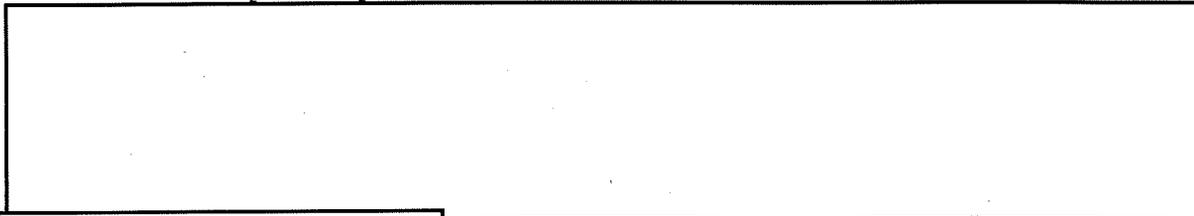
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Northwest District (Seattle)

The principal officer of the NWD-CPUSA continues to be

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The official governing body of the District is the Organizational Bureau (Org. Bureau), however, this body has not met within the last three to four years. The Org. Bureau is composed of four party members and is presided over by the Org. Bureau Secretary, [redacted] Party activities within the district are directed and managed almost exclusively [redacted] with the advise of [redacted] [redacted] and one or two other trusted individuals. There is in essence no assistance or advise from any official governing body.

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Missouri District (Saint Louis)

The Principal MDCPUSA officials are:

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[redacted]
[redacted] Sam Davis, District
Literature Director; and [redacted]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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The highest governing body of the MDCPUSA is a State Board. The State Board consists of the principal District Officials, plus chairpersons of the Columbia, Missouri Club; and the Kansas City, Missouri Club. This Board meets three times per year. The officers of the State Board are:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Sam Davis, Literature Director;
[redacted]

The Local Board of the MDCPUSA consists of the four principal District Officials plus the St. Louis area club chairpersons. The Local Board meets monthly.

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Other individuals who act in a leadership capacity in the MDCPUSA are:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

The Murphy - Senter Trade Union Club, St. Louis, Missouri - seven members; The Construction Workers Shop Club, Saint Louis, Missouri - five members; The Industrial Club, Saint Louis, Missouri - six members; The Metropolitan Community Club, Saint Louis, Missouri - 15 members. The Metropolitan Club is a result of combining the Harriet Tubman Community Club and the John Reed Club. The Columbia, Missouri Club - one member (inactive); The Kansas City, Missouri Club - five members; The Kansas City State Club (inactive.)

Florida District (Tampa)

District Officers

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[Redacted]

District Executive Committee

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[Redacted]

District Committee

The District Committee is composed of the chairperson of each club in the district.

Club

Chair

Miami
Miami Beach
Hollywood
Deerfield Beach
West Palm Beach
Tampa (2 Clubs)

St. Petersburg
Brooksville
Orlando
Tallahassee

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[Redacted]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[Redacted]

Metropolitan - Washington, D.C.
Northern Virginia District (WFO)

District Organization Leaders:

[Redacted]

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III. Membership

The membership of CPUSA has not significantly changed during the past year. There are reportedly approximately 4,000 members, nationwide, of CPUSA. There is no estimate as to how many of these are active/contributing members.

Illinois District (Chicago)

[Redacted]

(Logan Square Club)

[Redacted]

(Logan Square Club)

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[Redacted]

Michigan District (Detroit)

[Redacted]

Minnesota - Dakota District (Minneapolis)

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[Redacted]

Last Name Unknown (LNU)
LNU

[Redacted]

District 14, New Jersey (Newark)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (Philadelphia)

[Redacted] (phonetic) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Western Pennsylvania District (Pittsburgh)

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[Redacted]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[Redacted]

Oregon District (Portland)

[Redacted]

Utah District (Salt Lake City)

[Redacted]

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Florida District (Tampa)

[Redacted]

Metropolitan - Washington, D.C.
Northern Virginia District (WFO)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

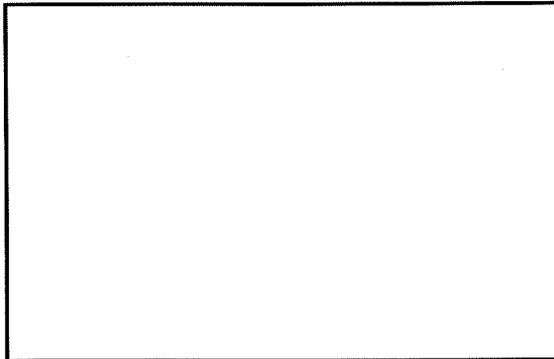
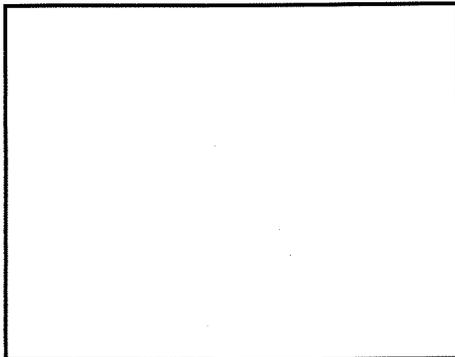
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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)



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IV Funds

Partial funding for the CPUSA is derived from contributions, assessments to members, members' monthly dues, CPUSA front groups' contributions, fund raising activities, bequests and open forums. Examples of some of these, listed by CPUSA Districts, follows:

Illinois District (Chicago)

Beginning January 1, 1985, the Illinois CP District converted from a fiscal to a calendar year for accounting purposes.

The 1985 Illinois CP budget included the amount of \$61,175.00 to be raised by the District's Organizational Sustaining Fund, \$31,175.00 of which was to be contributed by the clubs and \$24,000.00 to be raised by the District's officers and staff. (Money raised by the District's officers and staff comes primarily from gifts, donations and bequests.) As of December 13, 1985, \$61,747.81 had been raised by the Illinois CP, \$30,965.25 of it by the District's officers and staff.

The Illinois CP's 1985, "Daily World" Fund Drive goal was \$33,325.00, \$11,000.00 of which was to be raised by the District's officers and staff. As of December 13, 1985, \$24,029.00 of this amount had been achieved, \$5,958.62 of it by

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

the District officers and staff.

The December 29, 1985, issue of the Illinois CP's "Red Letter" publication indicates that the District's share of the new "Peoples Daily World" fund drive goal would be \$35,000.00.

The Illinois CP recently (July, 1986) moved its headquarters from 407 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois - where it paid \$692.00 per month in rent and approximately \$20.00 for utilities - to 161 West Harrison Street, Chicago, where they will pay approximately \$100.00 per month more in rent than the space they vacated.

Michigan District (Detroit)

Special trust fund of \$29,000.00 supposedly in a secret account provides interest used to pay [redacted] salary. Account location is known only to [redacted]

Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (Philadelphia)

The 1986 District budget of \$35,000 was not attained. Annual revenue totaled approximately \$29,500. The District meet its national obligation of \$175.00/month. In 1986, the District appears to be meeting its obligations to date, although it has been receiving National office subsidization of district salaries and received \$3,000 from the National office from the [redacted] contribution and \$5,000 of a \$10,000 donation to the National office from [redacted]

Voluntary membership sustaining represents approximately 50 percent of district revenue. Outside fund sustaining represents the second largest source of revenue, believed to be \$4,000 to \$5,000 per year. Less than 75 percent of district dues are received.

The District maintains a modest checking account at the Fidelity Bank in Philadelphia with a balance currently at approximately \$1,000, although it maintains a special account in

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

the amount of approximately \$15,000, received from special contributions designated for the purchase of a new district headquarters building.

The District continues to fulfill its People's Daily World (PDW) Fund Drive quota, but admits that it cannot sustain itself without outside contributions. The District raised 110 percent of the PDW Fund Drive, totaling \$19,000 although it borrowed \$3,000 from [redacted] to complete the drive.

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Oregon District (Portland)

At the beginning of the reporting period, the financial status of both the District and the Portland club was very poor. The John Reed Bookstore, operated by the Portland club, was near closure because the District had cut its subsidiary in half due to lack of funds. In June, 1986, the Oregon District won a lawsuit against the State of Oregon resulting from a civil rights violation at the 1981 Oregon State Fair. The Party agreed to a settlement of \$20,000 following an award of \$8,275 in damages, plus legal costs. In actuality, the District became solvent only as a result of the settlement, and, following payment of legal fees and all other debts, reportedly had a balance of approximately \$500.

Northwest District (Seattle)

During November, 1985 in the "Draft Plan of Work for the District" under the heading of Finances, there was listed the following financial responsibilities of the District for 1986. CP Party Budget \$17,000.00, People before Profit Association Fund Drive, \$14,000.00 and the PDW Fund Drive was to commence immediately and end on March 1, 1986, and the PDW Drive was to begin in March and continue until June of 1986. It is noted that in February of 1986, the People before Profit Association's \$14,000.00 goal was reduced to \$8,000.00 and as of February 19, 1986, they had successfully raised \$6,000.00.

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

V. CPUSA Activities

Perhaps the major National CPUSA activity of the past year was the National Party Conference held at the Penta Hotel, New York City, on July 25-27, 1986. The major purpose of this conference was to plan and originate a national strategy and direction for the People's Daily World. Approximately 500 people attended the conference, which, according to asset coverage, was well-organized.

On November 16, 1985,, there was a Membership Meeting of the CP of Northern California, with Henry Winston as guest speakers, held at the Finnish Hall, 1819 Tenth Street, Berkeley, California. There were approximately 250 CP members in attendance.

Winston, the CPUSA National Chairman, spoke on the subject of nuclear war and the need to put an end to a system that only the right wing endorses. He spoke at length about the recently published peace proposals of the USSR and the meeting between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. He stressed the peaceful motives of the USSR and detailed their unilateral peace initiatives, and the need for the USA to respond to these initiatives. He noted that President Reagan has so far refused to consider the Soviet proposals, calling them propoganda, not meriting serious discussion.

Winston then spoke on the historical support provided by the CP to the labor movement, noting that "Jim Crow" would still be in existence without the CP and its press. He referred to the indictment and jailing of twelve CP leaders under the Taft/Hartley Act in the past and how that occurrence reduced the forces of the left. He stressed the need for growth in the CP to defeat right-wing forces.

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[redacted] a WPD-CPUSA member, agreed with [redacted] to run on the Consumer Party as a candidate for United States Congress. [redacted] suggested that the CPUSA would have to help him in getting enough signatures to be included on the November ballot. As of March, 1986, \$3,000 had been received to assist

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

this effort from the National Office.

During October, November of 1985 and again during the summer of 1986, the Northwest District sponsored the Northwest People's School, a series of one or two session classes on various aspects of Marxism, as well as current topical issues. Assets reported that these classes were taught by local CP members and that attendance was so bad that several of the sessions had to be canceled.

On September 14, 1986, the 1st Annual PDW Picnic was held at Seward Park in Seattle. Assets reported that the planning and organization for this year's picnic was particularly hectic and unorganized and that everything was done on a last minute basis. Assets reported that the picnic was fairly well attended and that donations and pledges to benefit the PDW were collected. The Keynote speaker at the conference was Karl Bloice, the Associate Editor of the "People's Daily World".

VI. Front Groups

The two primary "front groups" utilized by the CPUSA are:

1. World Peace Council (WPC)
2. National Council of American - Soviet Friendship (NCASF)

Both have been characterized in previous annual memorandums, and independent memorandums are submitted on both groups annually.

In addition to the WPC and NCASF, the FBI has determined that there are approximately 21 other groups, wherein CPUSA members have leadership roles or take an active part. Some of these groups are spin-offs from the WPC or NCASF. However, some of the groups have no affiliation with WPC or NCASF. The additional "front groups" espouse the cause of jobs, racial and

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

political repression, economic issues, and labor and union involvement.

Following are examples of some other CPUSA "Front Groups":

Trade Union For Action and Democracy
(TUAD), 7917 South Exchange Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois

TUAD was founded (as the National Coordinating Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy) at a 1970 CPUSA sponsored conference held at Chicago in order to overcome a failure of the CPUSA to reach the labor movement. TUAD publishes and distributes the monthly newspaper "Labor Today".

The space at 7917 South Exchange Avenue, Chicago, is rented by the party for \$100.00 per month. Also located at this address are the CPUSA's Chicago based national Labor Department

[REDACTED]

Illinois CP member [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who was designated the World Federation of Trade Unions' representative to the United Nations. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Numerous trade unions and other existing groups in New Jersey have been targeted by the CPUSA for infiltration by CP members. Among those believed to have been significantly infiltrated under the influence of the CPUSA are the following:

The Jersey City Tenants Association (JCTA) was organized by unknown individuals in order to represent apartment tenants in dispute with local government and landlords. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

[redacted] Membership in excess of 500 has been claimed by this group. The total number of CP members involved is unknown. Funding other than dues and contributions are unknown. This group has obtained a power base in the political structure of Jersey City, New Jersey, and has stated plans to exercise this power in furtherance of CP goals and policies.

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New Jersey SANE was headed [redacted]

[redacted] The number of CP members and funding is unknown. Membership appears to be extensive in the state. It acts to coordinate the various anti-military/anti-nuclear groups and activities in accordance with CPUSA and USPC policies and goals. Chapters are known to exist in Bergen and Essex Counties.

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The National Alliance Against Racial and Political Repression (NAARPR) is headed [redacted] CPUSA National Council Member. The number of CPUSA members in the NAARPR is believed to be approximately one-quarter to one-half of the statewide NAARPR membership. Meetings have previously been noted by assets at which the majority of NAARPR members present were also known Communist Party members. Funding is unknown other than contributions. The NAARPR acts as a "voice" for CPUSA policies and propaganda.

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[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (S)

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[redacted] (S)

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED] (S)

b1

[REDACTED] (S)

VIII. Miscellaneous

Modern Bookstore, 1642 South Blue Island, Chicago.

Imported Publications, Inc. (IPI), 320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Although (as business establishments rather than membership organizations) the Illinois CP's MBS and the CPUSA's IPI are not front groups per se, both are managed and operated by members of the Illinois CP.

The MBS is presently managed by Illinois CP member [REDACTED]. This establishment advertises itself as having the "Midwest's widest selection of Marxist literature on black and labor history, women, the socialist world, Africa, philosophy, economics, literature, etc., in English, Spanish, and Persian". The premises of MBS are frequently utilized for meetings and gatherings supported by the Illinois CP and/or its

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

front groups.

As of late 1985, the MBS was paying \$300.00 per month on a yearly lease.

As of late July, 1986, the MBS was breaking even financially. It is felt by many that the store's lousy location contributes to the lack of success of this establishment.

The IPI, which was founded and has been funded by the CPUSA for the purpose of distributing communist literature published abroad, continues to do business at 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, its Room 7 East at this location consisting of a locked showroom open only to the trade, libraries, etc. Although lacking a retail store outlet, IPI operates a catalogue mail order business from these premises which includes sales to retail customers. IPI issues an approximately 56 page catalogue which describes publications from around the world. IPI is presently operated by long-time CPUSA members [redacted]

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[redacted] Over the years the IPI establishment has received funding from both the CPUSA and Mezhdunaronaya Kniga (MK) (International Book), Moscow. Recent inquiry disclosed that IPI is currently registered with the Foreign Agents Registration Section, USDJ, as an agent of the Soviet Union under registration number 2459.

The Communist Party-Wisconsin District (CPW) is involved in a new political party in Wisconsin, the Labor-Farm Party (LFP). During the recent Wisconsin primary election, it was noticed that the LFP had secured a place on the ballot (the only third party to do so) and, in light of this, Milwaukee received available information.

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Communist Party, United States of America
(CPUSA)

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[REDACTED]
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The LFP ran the following slate:

[REDACTED]

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In Milwaukee, [REDACTED] a long time CP member, ran on the LFP ticket as a candidate [REDACTED] in Milwaukee County.

An asset advised that an exact connection between the CP and the LFP has not been ascertained, but he believes it can be inferred by the familiarity of some CP members with the activities of the LFP. During a January, 1986 meeting of the Madison Cookson-Hansberry (CP) Club, a discussion took place regarding possible candidates for the LFP as a topic of discussion.

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During a September, 1986, special meeting of the CP in Milwaukee, [REDACTED] of the Wisconsin CP district, encouraged CP members to back the LFP. At the same meeting, it was commented that the LFP is challenging the (legitimate) labor movement.

Based on the fact the LFP was organized by a very active CP member and knowledge of the activities of the LFP by certain, important, CP members, Milwaukee is of the opinion the LFP is a front organization of the CPUSA in the Wisconsin District. Milwaukee is not opening a separate investigation at this time, but will continue to attempt to monitor this group through its coverage of the CPUSA.

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FORMS.TEXT HAS 1 DOCUMENT

INBOX.46 (#6989)

TEXT:

VZCZCSF0022

RR HQ1 NY CG SC

DE SF #0022 1910030

ZNY SSSSS

R 100129Z JUL 87

FM SAN FRANCISCO (229B-6) (P) (SQ. 12)

TO ACTING DIRECTOR ROUTINE

NEW YORK ROUTINE

CHICAGO ROUTINE

SACRAMENTO ROUTINE

BT

SECRET

CPUSA, FCI - R, OO: NEW YORK

ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION CONTAINED
IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "SECRET".

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (S)

[Redacted]

[Redacted] (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[Redacted] (P) [Handwritten initials]

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12 JUL 87 02 48
FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION

Exec AD Adm	
Exec AD Inv.	
Exec AD LES	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. S.	
Crim. I.	
Ident.	
Lab.	
Log.	
Cri. C.	
Public Aff.	
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Tech. Servs.	
Training	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Sec'y	

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FBI

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TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- Airtel

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
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- CONFIDENTIAL
- UNCLAS E F T O
- UNCLAS

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309
 auc/tam/mlt/ljm\nON 06-08-2006
 1034973

Date 1/29/88

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 Attn: Intelligence Division, SSA [redacted] ~~SECRET~~

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FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (229-2) (P) (CI-2)

~~CPUSA-WASHINGTON, NORTHERN VIRGINIA - DISTRICT~~
~~FBI-CPUSA~~
 (OO:WFO)

ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
 CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "SECRET" UNLESS
 OTHERWISE NOTED.

On 11/19/87, [redacted] (reliable) advised that [redacted]
[redacted] a New York CPUSA member and [redacted] of the
 "People's Daily World" attended a Washington/Northern
 Virginia/Maryland District meeting of CPUSA.

Asset said that [redacted] was a featured speaker at the
 "Convention" which was held at the home of long-time Washington
 member [redacted]

[redacted] delivered a lengthy address to Washington, D.C. members
 about how the party expected to have 100 "party" candidates
 running for public office in 1988. [redacted] said that it was
 CPUSA leadership's hope that one million votes would be generated
 to support party candidates. [redacted] said that there was a
 potential for 10 CPUSA supported candidates running for office in
 New York alone.

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100-486889-229X2
227-0-9

Classified by: 9653
 Declassify on: OADR

- ②-Bureau
- 2-New York
- 2-Washington Field Office
 (1-134A-13738)

OWC:vll
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16 FEB 2 1988
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Approved: [redacted] Transmitted _____ Per _____
 (Number) (Time)

5-31-89

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WFO 229-2

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Asset advised that [] cited the responsibility of member Districts to find ways to support CPUSA sanctioned candidates or that candidate who is ideologically progressive. [] said that one sure way to influence the election process is to recruit new members into CPUSA.

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FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- Airtel

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- UNCLAS E F T O
- UNCLAS

Date 3/18/88

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: INTD, SSA [redacted])

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FROM: SAC, WMFO (229B-2) (P) (CI-2)

CPUSA - WDC DISTRICT
FCI-CPUSA
(OO:WMFO)

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ALL MARKINGS, NOTATIONS AND ITEMS OF INFORMATION
CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION ARE CLASSIFIED "~~SECRET~~"
UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.

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O

Enclosed for New York is one copy of a flyer
advertising a speech to be given by ~~JARVIS TYNER~~, Chairman,
New York State Communist Party, USA, on 1/24/88 at Howard
University, Washington, D.C.

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[redacted], a reliable and sensitive source,
recently advised that JARVIS TYNER was to have been in
Washington, D.C. to deliver an address "Capitalism vs
Socialism". The address and accompanying Brunch was
provided by the Lucy Parsons Club of the WDC District -
CPUSA, and was to benefit the Peoples Daily World.

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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- 2-Bureau
- 2-New York (Enc. 1)
- 2-WMFO
- (1 [redacted])
- (1-229B-2)

SEARCHED [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED BY SP9 AG/dmg
ON 10/2/95

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OWC:baw
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Approved: *[Signature]* Transmitted _____ Per _____
(Number) (Time)

13 JAN 24 1989

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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DATE: OCT 26 1988

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: CI-1A, SSA [redacted] (100-3)

FROM: ADIC, NEW YORK (229B-3) (P) (I-6)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (CPUSA)
FCI-CPUSA
OO: NY

This document is classified "~~Secret~~" in its entirety.

IN VIEW OF THE SENSITIVITY OF [redacted] EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN THE HANDLING OF ANY INFORMATION ATTRIBUTED TO THIS SOURCE, AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS SOURCE.

IN THE EVENT THIS INFORMATION IS TO BE DISSEMINATED FURTHER, EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE UTILIZED IN REPORTING THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED BY ASSET.

Enclosed for the Bureau are one original and five copies of a disseminable LHM captioned: "MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (MCC)."

Enclosed for receiving offices is one copy of the above LHM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

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Classified by G-3
Declassify on OADR

ENCLOSURE

141-4230
4 encs dest. 11/18/88

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 6) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - WMFO (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 5 - New York
 - (1 - 229B-3)
 - (1 - 105B-172821) (ACT. MEAS.) (I-6)
 - (1 - [redacted] (C)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 105- [redacted])

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100-486889-230X

OCT 31 1988

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SECURITY INFORMATION

JMF/2/1/88

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DISCLASSIFIED BY SP9 AG/dmg
ON 10/2/95

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[Handwritten signature]



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York

OCT 26 1988

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC)

This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its entirety.

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[redacted] a highly knowledgeable source who has provided reliable information in the past, advised that the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) is the governing body of the Mennonite Church. The Mennonites are the descendants of the Anabaptists who emigrated to this country from German-speaking areas of Europe early in the last century. They are named for their founder, Mennon.

Mennonites are in general pacifists as part of their religious tradition. They have usually resisted military conscription and/or sought status as conscientious objectors during the periods in American history when the "draft" was in effect. Along with the Church of the Brethren and the Quakers, they consider themselves "a historic peace church."

The rank-and-file members of the Church tend toward a vague liberalism in theological and political matters but are generally no more radical in their political views than most liberal Protestants. The staff and leadership of the MCC, however, tend toward highly radical-leftist political positions which frequently lead them to make common cause with Communists on specific issues. Some MCC leaders and staff appear to view Communists as allies and cooperate with them knowingly and willingly. For their part, the Communists appear to target the Mennonites and the MCC as coalition partners in particular "peace" and "solidarity" campaigns.

The MCC is usually in public opposition to the foreign and military policies of the United States, especially on questions concerning Central America, the Caribbean and the so-called "third-world." The MCC consistently seeks to influence public opinion in support of the Communist regimes in Cuba and Nicaragua. They have organized "humanitarian aid" shipments to both countries. They have also provided similar assistance to

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10/7/95

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Mennonite Central Committee (MCC)

the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and continue to do so. These activities are reported regularly in the Mennonite Central Committee News. The MCC is also active in the so-called "sanctuary movement" which seeks to shield illegal alien residents of the United States from deportation.

Individual Mennonites are also active in the leadership of other "peace" organizations. For example, [redacted] a well-known Mennonite, [redacted] of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. During the period of the war in Vietnam, [redacted] in the "Friendshipment" project which provided food and other aid to the Vietnamese Communists. [redacted] cited here as only one example, is in no way unusual in Mennonite circles.

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Quite apart from their connection with radical activists and foreign Communist regimes, Mennonites and especially the MCC staff and leadership are logical recruitment targets of the CPUSA and, possibly also, of the foreign intelligence agencies of the governments mentioned above.

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FBI

TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- UNCLAS E F T O
- UNCLAS

Date 2/17/89

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1 TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

2 FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (100A-23485)(RUC)

3 PROVISIONAL PARTY OF COMMUNISTS USA, aka

4 EASTERN SERVICE WORKERS ASSOCIATION (ESWA),

5 NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION (NATLFED);

6 DOMESTIC SECURITY/TERRORISM

7 (OO: NEW YORK)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP9AC/dmj
ON 10/2/95

This entire communication is classified "~~Secret~~."

8 On 2/14/89, [redacted]

9 [redacted] voluntarily appeared at the Rochester Resident Agency of the FBI, Rochester, New York, to furnish the following information:

10 [redacted] advised that she is [redacted]

11 [redacted]

12 [redacted] is employed as an insurance adjustor and has work telephone number [redacted]

P.1
MS

13 [redacted]

14 [redacted]

15 While there, she and other college students there were recruited to work with an organization called the EASTERN SERVICE WORKERS ASSOCIATION (ESWA), with offices at 244 Bay Street, Rochester, New York. This organization was designed to help the poor and take them clothing, foods, and other needs. They worked with both the urban poor

- 18 ③ - Bureau (1 - CID, DTU)
- 19 2 - New York (100-A-182949)(JTF-2)
- 20 1 - Buffalo
- 21 WSD;kdk (6)

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CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
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Approved: [signature] Transmitted _____ (Number) _____ (Time) Per [redacted]

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and with migrant workers. There was another organization affiliated with ESWA named the FINGER LAKES EQUAL JUSTICE ASSOCIATION (FLEJA). At the time [redacted] was familiar with FLEJA, it was representing [redacted] a migrant worker [redacted] [redacted] stated that her involvement with ESWA occurred in 1982.

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[redacted] stated she noted several things about the ESWA. Their basic philosophy was Marxist and they assumed that the temporary employee and migrant worker were disadvantaged and were not served by society. The "system" didn't work for such people, but the system would resist and attempt to destroy such organizations as ESWA that represented these people. The ESWA workers were very careful about using the telephone and would never say anything on the telephone. Volunteers such as [redacted] soon learned not to say anything of importance on the telephone. The ESWA people were "paranoid" about society's resistance to their efforts.

[redacted] stated that people working for ESWA would literally go door to door in poor urban and other disadvantaged areas. The workers would live in the homes of the poor they served or would live in the ESWA office on Bay Street.

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[redacted] commented that volunteers such as herself would be encouraged to stay later in the evening to study the groups teaching about such issues as the Labor Movement and how it is oppressed. Much of this instruction was contained on audio tapes coming from the group's New York City headquarters. [redacted] stated that each ESWA organizational unit is called an "entity," and she stated it was her clear impression that there was an inner circle of membership and that there was a hierarchy of information available based upon an individual's level of membership.

[redacted] recalled that sometime in 1982, she was invited, along with other ESWA volunteers, to travel to New York City to learn more about the group. One of those travelling with her was [redacted] has no current contact with [redacted] who lives some place on Long Island.

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[redacted] stated the group went to Brooklyn arriving there late at night. They met the leader of the organization, but [redacted] does not now recall his name. She described him as [redacted] very charismatic. [redacted] remembers being put off by that and by the idolatry she observed in the large number of women surrounding this leader. She stated that the group had a lawyers office

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connected with it (she recalls the firm's name as either [redacted] and a printing business. All these places plus a brownstone residence were in Brooklyn and [redacted] believes they were either in the CROWN HEIGHTS or CAROL GARDENS section there. She and [redacted] along with other visitors, were lodged at the printing shop.

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[redacted] stated that she recalls there was little time for rest or sleep and the guests were constantly being told what to do. She remembers thinking even then what a perfect environment for brain-washing because of the charismatic leader, the communal life-style where individuals become too involved or too tired to think for themselves, and the constant direction.

[redacted] stated that while they were in Brooklyn for this weekend, the leader spoke to the assembled membership and visitors. Before he took the platform to begin, men in brown uniforms entered and surrounded the platform as bodyguards. While [redacted] does not recall what he said, she clearly remembers that there was a grenade and a pistol on the desk in front of him while he spoke. This very much upset [redacted] and she expressed her desire to leave immediately and return to Rochester. She received pressure from the group to stay and even the leader attempted to convince her to stay for the whole weekend. She told them she would need additional time to think about it and she and [redacted] were given time to talk privately. They were shown into a closet space being used as a bedroom by one of the leader's guards where they could talk. [redacted] stated that they observed a machine gun and ammunition belt in this space and that was the final straw for her. The leader and others tried to explain that the weapons which upset her so were only for defensive purposes and not intended for aggressive purposes or to "overthrow" the government.

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[redacted] stated this seemed in keeping with the general paranoia she had earlier observed. She also commented that the brownstone she had mentioned earlier was outfitted with window shutters having "peepholes" and places for guns. Guards also patrolled outside this property.

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[redacted] stated that she and [redacted] did leave Brooklyn as a result of this exposure to weapons and that she was not active with the group thereafter.

She commented that she knows the ESWA still maintains its office on Bay Street in Rochester and that she has also noticed signs for a "Benefits Office for ESWA" on Route 31 in Wayne County. She believes the current local

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leadership is the same group it included back in 1982 when she was involved. They are as follows:

1. [redacted]
2. [redacted]
[redacted]
3. [redacted] (LNU)
4. [redacted] (LNU)

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It was explained to [redacted] that the ESWA'S local work and actions were not subject to investigation so long as they did not espouse violent or criminal activity. It was further explained to her that the only possible criminal activity she had described was the possession of grenades and automatic weapons by the group in New York City.

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[redacted] stated she understood this and only came forward to volunteer this information now because while it had always troubled her, the ESWA recently approached her church group to seek volunteers. This brought it all back to her and she decided to report her earlier experiences.

The above is being furnished for the information of the New York Office in light of its previous investigation into this group.

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FM FBI NEW YORK (229-3) (P)

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309
auc/tam/mlt/ljm\nON 06-08-2006
1034973

TO DIRECTOR FBI (100-3)/PRIORITY/

BT

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SECTION TWO OF THREE SECTIONS

CITE: //3540//

PASS: HQ FOR SSA [] CI-1A FOR [] CI-1B FOR

[] CI-3A FOR []

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SUBJECT: CPUSA; FCI-CPUSA; OO:NY.

TEXT CONTINUES:

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL BASE INSIDE THE TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT HAS BEEN A CENTRAL COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE SINCE THE EARLY
1950S WHEN COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS WAS
EFFECTIVELY NEUTRALIZED BY A COMBINATION OF LEGISLATION AND
EXPULSIONS OF COMMUNISTS FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF MOST UNIONS IN WHICH

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*Records:
Pls. file as it
I cannot find rest of
TTY. /CSH.*

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TRANSMIT VIA:

- Teletype
- Facsimile
- AIRTEL

PRECEDENCE:

- Immediate
- Priority
- Routine

CLASSIFICATION:

- TOP SECRET
- SECRET
- CONFIDENTIAL
- UNCLAS E F T O
- UNCLAS

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309
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1034973

Date DEC 20 1990
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mf/rw/2/ke

1 TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
 (ATTN: INTD, CI-1A, SSA [redacted])
 2 FROM : ADIC, NEW YORK (229B-3) (P) (I-6)
 3
 4 SUBJECT : COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)
 FCI - CPUSA
 5 OO:NY

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6 This communication is classified "~~Secret~~" in its
7 entirety.

8 Enclosed for FBIHQ and PH are two copies (each) of
9 a CPUSA document entitled, "Report to the National Committee/
National Council on African American Equality Conference
10 August 4, 1990".

11 The enclosed document was authored by [redacted] *mf/ke*
 12 [redacted] a CPUSA member who is active in the Party's African-
 13 American Commission. According to [redacted] many African-
 14 Americans are disillusioned with the CPUSA and as a result,
 the CPUSA has lost many of its African-American members.
 However, the CPUSA is attempting to restructure itself in
 order to attract more African-American members.

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Declassify on OADR

- 17 2-ENCLOSURE
 18 ③ - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
 (INTD, CI-1A)
 19 2 - Philadelphia (Encls. 2) (RM)
 20 2 - New York (229B-3)
 (1 - 134Z)

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SAS:nac
(8)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Transmitted

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Per

[Redacted box]

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60309
auc/tam/mlt/ljm\nON 06-08-2006
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Report to National Committee/National Council
on African American Equality Conference
August 4, 1990

By Robert Lindsay

The conference on equality and against racism comes at an urgent time in the life of the Party. The Party's future - indeed whether there will be a Communist Party - is intricately tied to our policy on equality for African Americans and the struggle against racism. There can be no left organization in the United States of much importance that does not understand the prime necessity of Black-white unity and the need to sink deep roots in the Black community.

Understanding this question is what has distinguished Communists from all others. It has always been the litmus test of a Communist.

There is growing alarm in our ranks that the Party's policy toward equality is off course and consequential in the decline in the Party's influence in the democratic movement. We are confronted with some startling facts: decline in membership of African Americans, growing insensitivity and racism in the Party, isolation from the mass actions in the Black community, and the alienation of many of our Black members from present Party policies. This has led to sharp differences and division. In response to these developments, the national committee took the necessary steps to call for the October conference on equality to find solutions.

The conference has three objectives: (1) to outline the strategic and tactical objectives of the Party for this decade; (2) to figure out the proper place of the national question in the life of the Party; and (3) to define the role and purpose of the Party in relation to the Black community.

The success of the conference requires a new style of work and a new thinking. It requires maximum discussion and debate within the Party. We need dialogue with Black leaders and representatives, with representatives of trade unions, women's organizations, youth groups and environmental groups. In other words, solutions are to be found in mass interaction, which will enrich the practical and theoretical experiences of the Party and extend and solidify its ties.

Our task is not merely to update or fine tune our work. The position of African Americans in every sphere of society has undergone too profound a change for only adjustments here and there.

As we discuss the African American question, one is led to the inexorable conclusion that the Party needs renewal. It needs changes in its strategic objectives and in the Party itself. We

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should reject dogmatic ideas, mummified formulations, and one-sidedness that have little to do with reality.

Democratic Upsurge

Profound developments are unfolding in the Black community. An unprecedented level of mass initiatives, action, and unity is occurring. New forms of organization are maturing before our very eyes as old ones change their line and character.

The level of political consciousness has never been higher and it is rapidly increasing. It is characteristic of a people on the move.

Most now recognize the strategic position of African Americans in the economic and political structures and their renewed thrust in the cultural and social life of society. African Americans are a new "factor" in the equation in the domestic and international arena. We have not fully analyzed or grasped this phenomenon.

Line and policy are impossible without a thorough appreciation of these new realities.

The strength of the African American people's movement is based first in labor where they are the fastest growing sector. In the new service industries, Black people are found in higher proportions. Any thrust by labor to organize the unorganized inevitably starts with Black workers, a disproportionate number of whom are women.

The integration of African Americans in the labor market and the elimination of the barriers of Jim Crow have furthered their strategic importance and influence. They are a decisive force in every sector of the people's movement. Many "mainstream" organizations and movements are now headed by Blacks, such as the Democratic Party National Committee.

African Americans are at the center of the democratic upsurge and are the main uniting force in the new people's coalitions. This was dramatically demonstrated in the recent election of Dinkins as mayor of New York, Douglas Wilder as governor of Virginia, and in the present campaign of Harvey Gantt, who's running against the reactionary Sen. Jesse Helms in North Carolina.

The main figure in the democratic upsurge is the Rev. Jesse Jackson. He has affected the thinking and organization of the masses of people more than anyone since Dr. Martin Luther King.

The 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns of Jackson and the formation of the Rainbow Coalition changed the thought patterns of millions and were the single most important factor giving rise to the organizational and political leadership for the democratic

movement that is now sweeping this country.

Jackson and the forces around the Rainbow Coalition aim to change the balance of forces in Congress in favor of progressive representation by the end of the century.

Frederick Douglass declared over 100 years ago to those who sought to separate the anti-slavery struggle from the struggle to save the nation that to save the nation you must first free the slaves. We are now in a comparable situation as we approach the 21st century: To advance democracy, African Americans must be granted economic parity and political empowerment.

This is the task before the people's movement and this is the challenge before our Party and the Left.

The Rainbow Coalition has existed for six years now and we have yet to hold a full discussion on it and formulate policy toward it. The Rainbow Coalition is a key link in the chain of struggle. It has under its umbrella every sector of the people's movement resting upon the labor-African American alliance.

How do we explain our attitude toward the Black community, its organizations and its leadership? No other sector of the democratic movement is as active, politically conscious and strategically placed as African Americans. Yet we are barely involved. At certain levels of the Party one would hardly recognize that anything of significance is happening among Black people.

The conference process must uncover the ideological roots of such sectarianism. It should examine concepts and policies of the Party as it fully examines all dimensions of the equality movement.

Let us take the concept of centrality of Black liberation. We dropped centrality at the very time when Black people and the equality movement were moving to the center stage of the democratic movement. Did this not affect our attitude, emphasis and concentration policy?

We should examine the relation between the class and national question. Why do we pit one against the other? We seem in a hurry to bury the national question, to declare it over to get on with the "class." With such logic we would bury the democratic struggle, the women's movement, the youth question, and make everything pure and simple - worker against the boss.

Perhaps this explains why some of us are so unapologetic and hardened in our disregard for the specific demands of African Americans for equality and for their contributions, not only political, but cultural, moral, and social as well.

We should examine such ideas as the merging of the class and national question. This is only one side of the process. Alongside this is the emerging of greater national awareness and identity. The melting pot theory is increasingly rejected and in its stead we have a "gorgeous mosaic" of people and cultures. This concept grew out of the democratic upsurge and was instrumental to people and class unity.

Racism

A section of the conference call is devoted to racism. Many questions are posed. However, the Party's definition of racism is not posed as a question. I guess we took it for granted.

Marxists gave a scientific definition to racism. They exposed the economic and social base of racism and showed how ideology grew out of those relations to justify and deepen the oppression of a people based upon their racial characteristics.

The Party needs a thorough assessment of racism and race relations. The country has undergone 10 years of an unprecedented racist assault under Reaganism. Racism rests upon new a premise geared to the establishment of a new racist division of labor, and transformed in recognition that most whites reject the idea of inherent superiority.

In pre-conference discussion, a major point of debate has been the so-called anti-racist majority. The exchange has been rich and rewarding. It has pointed out problems with our methodology in deciding policy, in drawing conclusions and in how we make assessments of trends in consciousness.

Some members are grappling with what effect this has had on the Party. Did it mobilize us against racism or did it lull us into non-struggle and acceptance? Did it correspond to the views of the Black community, the trade unions, women groups?

John Jacobs of the Urban League said at their recent convention:

"Racism isn't dead and buried ... it just changes to fit the changing times. Racism lives on in new, more subtle forms of discrimination...stereotyping...in the refusal to share power and responsibility."

This is how this conference must grapple with racism. We must ask, "How does racism hinder the struggle for empowerment and parity." In the last leg of the relay for equality, empowerment and parity, Black-white relations loom more critically than ever before. The very girders of racism are being cut. It's not the time to let up, it's the time to pick up the beat.

Instead of sweeping generalities, we need to understand not only the new features of racism, but the psychological and moral effects of racism upon whites.

This conference has to go beyond such generalities as "racism is used to divide Black and whites and the source of racism is monopoly capital." Too often this serves as a cover to deny that racism exists among white workers and that at a given time under certain conditions, some sectors have a material interest in racism even though it contradicts the interest of the class overall. It ignores that racism is structured in the economic, social, and cultural relations that white people come into contact with everyday.

What is the importance of Jesse Jackson's formulation of unity in terms of a search for "common ground?" Why is it so appealing? Is it because it recognizes the contradictions and different interests?

How do we strengthen Black-white unity in the framework of democratic reform? Placed this way, Communists are called upon to struggle against racism not just for the economic interest alone, but upon the appeal to the moral and democratic traditions of our class and people.

As African Americans demand, in the words of John Jacobs, a "sharing of power" and a redress for inequality, the people's movement and the Left are faced with the need for real soul searching. Blacks are demanding leadership here as well.

We need to analyze why there is such poor representation of African Americans in the organized Left. Few African Americans are present at the Marxist scholars conferences and the socialist scholars conferences. Why is it that while African Americans are the most politically conscious, the least time, money and organization is invested here?

The Communist Party once set the pace in the struggle against racism. It was the conscience of whites. Its slogan, "Black and white unite and fight," rallied millions into the CIO and the unemployed councils.

Leading figures in the Black community such as Paul Robeson, W.E.B. DuBois, Ben Davis, Claudia Jones, Henry Winston were in and around the Party. It was proudly hailed as the Party of African Americans.

Look at the Party today. Many, if not most, African Americans feel alienated from the policies of the Party. There is no African American with authority over any of the Party's key institutions or organs. There are complaints everywhere against racism which remain unaddressed. This erodes Black-white unity, the very fabric of our Party. The conference must address this question to put a

stop to it.

What are the standards that we demand of Communists? It is meaningless and, yes, insulting to say that no racists are allowed in the Party. The struggle is much further along than that. The Party should be discussing how to eliminate racism from its ranks and instead create intolerance and moral indignation against it.

In the conference process, inter-Party relations have to be examined. Present events confirm that commitment to equality must not be limited to good will or declarations of allegiance to Marxism-Leninism or Communism. It must be structured into the Party. That is what is meant by "the old standards are not up to par for today."

What structures and standards are necessary to guarantee equality in our ranks and representation of African Americans, other minorities and women- structures that can serve as models for others, as well?

We lag behind many, if not most, organizations. While we advocate affirmative action for others, we do not have it written in our constitution or anywhere else.

Role of Communist Party

For years, the Party has been saying that Blacks are not being recruited into the Party. The composition at every level reflects this. The Party, in the past, would have called an emergency meeting. The Winston enrollment was initiated without even discussing why Blacks were leaving the Party.

We usually begin the discussion on the Party by posing the question: What is the role of the Party? I think an even more fundamental question for us is: Is the Communist Party needed in the equality movement?

It is not sufficient to state the indispensability of the Party. Blacks could very well answer that they have done pretty well without the Party at this stage. In any case, they are not sitting around waiting for the Party to get itself together.

The "socialist alternative" is not a sufficient answer. African Americans historically associate the Party with the fight against racism, the building of the CIO, organizing the unemployed and the Scottsboro case - not the socialist alternative.

Is the Communist Party the organization in which African Americans can most effectively struggle for equality or around any of the broad issues facing our class and people? There are millions of Blacks in organizations and movements, yet, they are not joining the Party.

We need to ask what kind of Communist Party is needed, and how can the cultural and social identity of African Americans be reflected in the Party? Considering the number of mass organizations in the Black community and the level of organization of African Americans, what is a realistic goal for the increasing the size of the Party in the Black community? We usually speak of a mass Party. We should take a deeper look at this concept. It is not sufficient to define the Party in terms of class, alone. Too often it serves to ignore the all-class character of the struggle for equality. It pits the Party against other organizations and leads to smug indifference to leaders and movements in the Black community.

There is a Left in the Black community. They are to be found in most organizations, especially the Rainbow Coalition. The Party as so constituted in style, organization and policy is not for this Left. We are too narrow, rigid and sectarian. Dogmatism is perhaps the most crippling of all, for it goes against the very self assertion that is so indicative of African Americans of these times. The Party must express the identity of the Black community.

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TRANSMIT VIA:
 Teletype
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PRECEDENCE:
 Immediate
 Priority
 Routine

CLASSIFICATION:
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Date 2/1/91

1 TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
2 FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (229B-NY-3) (P)
3 SUBJECT : COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)
4 FCI-SU
5 (OO: NEW YORK)

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6 The entire contents of this communication are
classified "~~SECRET~~".

7 Full investigation initiated 10/5/76.

8 WARNING: THE ENCLOSED AND BELOW PROVIDED INFORMATION
9 WAS OBTAINED BY [REDACTED] A SENSITIVE AND RELIABLE SOURCE.
10 EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN WITH THE INFORMATION PROVIDED.

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Classified by: 2052
Declassify on: OADR

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ENCLOSURE

- 11 ③ - Bureau (Enc-5)
- 12 1 - Chicago (Enc.-1)
- 13 1 - Cleveland (Info)
- 14 1 - Detroit (Info)
- 15 1 - Los Angeles (Info)
- 16 1 - Milwaukee (Info)
- 17 2 - New York (Enc.-5)
- 18 1 - Philadelphia (Info)
- 19 1 - San Francisco (Info)
- 20 3 - Pittsburgh (1-229B-5)

[REDACTED]

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Approved: *BCR/AS* Transmitted _____ Per _____
(Number) (Time)

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Enclosed for Bureau and New York is one copy each of the following documents: (1) CPUSA National Committee (NC) Agenda dated 1/18/91; (2) 1/25/91 report to National Committee by GUS HALL; (3) draft panel reports on (A) Racism, (B) African-American people, (C) New Thinking, Internationalism and Imperialism (D) Election, (E) Developments in Socialism (F) Peoples Weekly World, (G) CP-Nature & Role, (H) Democratic Centralism, (I) trade union and (J) Class struggle; (4) Program transcript of committee meeting dated 12/12-13/90; (5) Peoples Daily World editorial office letter dated 1/2/91 with Chicago Tribune news report dated 11/27/90; "Teamster" article regarding National Black caucus and untitled news clipping regarding DANIEL LIGUROTIS. Above items obtained by Pittsburgh asset while at NC meeting 1/25-27/91. Enclosed for Chicago Division is one copy of enclosure (5) above.

The following information was provided by Pittsburgh asset who is knowledgeable of the activities of the CPUSA and who attended a National Committee meeting at CPUSA Headquarters, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, NY from 1/25-27/91:

The meeting began 1/25/91 with [redacted] chairing the first session. She introduced [redacted] and provided the proposed agenda which was to carry them through three days.

This agenda was immediately challenged with about a one-half hour argument over whether there would be an immediate discussion on GUS HALL's report. Those favoring the immediate discussion prevailed.

GUS HALL then gave his report, a copy of which is enclosed. When this had been completed, a number of NC members, consisting of mostly African-Americans, opposed it. [redacted] was one of the most vocal opponents and said that it was not in sync with the times and that while it contained a lot of smooth platitudes, it did not have a sense of direction. She said his report was a smoke screen for things which have come up and which have not been addressed.

Others also condemned the speech including [redacted]. They said he was not addressing an issue of critical importance to them, namely, the sensitivity of the Party on the race issue. The discussion continued the entire day and disrupted the scheduled agenda.

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GUS HALL, however, did not attend this discussion or a continuation of this discussion the following day. This upset many of the members, who felt he should have been there to answer questions not provided in his report. It was later determined through a private source that he had had an appointment at a local NY hospital for some tests and that following the tests he needed his rest.

Following discussion of GUS HALL's report, 10 reports on various issues were given, which included all items in enclosures under draft panel reports.

It was the report on "Insensitivity in the Leadership" that brought on the most heated arguments. A number of members participated which included those mentioned above and

and 2/3 of the Chicago attendees. The report was given by

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* [redacted] complained the way the Party had treated [redacted] were no longer on NC Board. They said many African-American people had left the Party because of the racism. *

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During this debate, [redacted] had to leave the [redacted] had the floor at that time and stated generally but implying directly about [redacted] that "if you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen". While [redacted] did not hear the remark until someone told him when he got back, it immediately reheated the debate.

~~CARL WINTERS~~ got up at one point and made a passionate plea for being reasonable and understanding but [redacted] did not want any part of it.

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[redacted] said that only a few were now making decisions and that blacks are now totally left out and nothing is being done about it. [redacted] said that he had brought this problem to the attention of the Party in 1987 while at the Convention and that they could have solved it then by having both white and black leaders.

The debate went on the rest of the day. It was supposed to end at 9:00 p.m., but permission was given to "stop the clock" which meant it could go on forever. It eventually ended at 10:00 p.m. It seemed that almost everyone also showed displeasure with HALL's report. Most felt that HALL should have

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been there to hear the debate. Many criticized him because of the timing of his trip to the hospital and felt that it was probably planned as a way for him to avoid having to confront the members.

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[redacted] stated that the presiding committee would hold a meeting with HALL about 8:30 a.m. Sunday and insure that he was aware of all the accusations and discuss with him how they could deal with it. The NC had audio taped the discussion and Hall was supposed to listen to this debate, although the source felt he was not inclined to do so.

When HALL met with them again on Sunday morning, he "poo-pooed" the charges and said some people are trying to break the Party. When he finished with his remarks, most of the NC members were still unhappy as he never gave them a direct answer as to how he planned to deal with it.

Asset stated that HALL usually feels that others will come to his defense and in this case, enough did that he probably felt somewhat vindicated. He sits above the storm and does not realize the seriousness of this present situation.

[redacted] said privately that when she talks to HALL in his office, he is always agreeable. However, when the same issue is publicly proposed, he does not like it, adding that that was how she fell out of grace with him.

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[redacted] feels that the Party does not have its hand on the pulse of things which are happening. The Peoples Weekly World (PWW) is not reflecting the work of the Party and some clubs are not holding meetings in the districts due to racism. The financial drives are falling short of their goals. In short, they are not focusing on the true issues such as big business, racism and the war because of the divisive race issue in the Party.

There were also complaints that the businesses of the Party have not grown and in fact are losing money. Someone needs to oversee what the problems are and take steps to solve them, but most of the vocal dissidents were sure HALL would not be able to achieve this.

In the end, many did not want to accept HALL's report, as they felt he was pulling a fast one by not starting his summary until 2 p.m. Sunday when he knew many would be wanting to leave so they could make travel connections. These people wanted a statement included which would say "This is his speech but we didn't vote on it."

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One objection in his initial report was found on page 8 of Part III, where he states ". . . the main question now is preservation of the Soviet Union by any and all means available and necessary." Members felt that this would mean that guns could now be used against Soviet citizens, and that he, HALL, was sanctioning it. HALL said he didn't mean it that way and that it would be removed from the final report.

Members agreed to publish the parts of his speech dealing with economics and the War, but did not want the other parts published. However, asset felt that anything HALL wants published will get published and in the end, another fight would result. The final vote was (36-24) to accept his report.

HALL also did not want the other speeches published as many did, but will probably publish only those that are not critical of him or his leadership.

Members also stated that they would like something on paper prior to coming to these meetings, especially his speech. While some defend him and say that he wants to include only the most up-to-date material, his detractors say that he doesn't want to give opponents time to organize a meaningful opposition.

The Sunday session finally finished at 6:00 p.m., but many issues were still unresolved. The total attendance was about 100 people, although asset never saw that many there at any one time.

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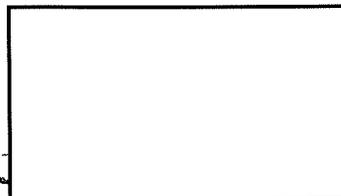
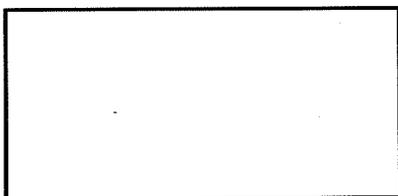
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ELECTION PANEL -SUMMARY

New York, Dec. 15, 1990

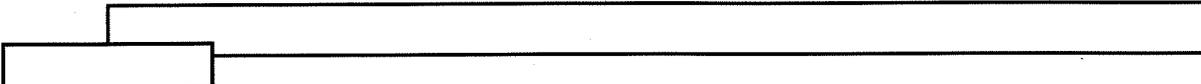
Panel members in attendance:



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Composition: six women, four men; [redacted]

[redacted] (It was explained that some of the African American comrades were out of town and one was on assignment from the PPW.)



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[redacted] made a brief opening statement, indicating that it was the purpose of the panel to discuss some of the experiences of the last campaign, the questions around independent politics, some of the perspectives for 1991 and 1992 and seek to resolve such differences on these questions as may exist.

Much of the discussion revolved around the experiences of the comrades who had run as independents for local offices: [redacted]

[redacted] -- briefly -- as a candidate on the Unity Party ticket until the Unity Party was denied a place on the ballot for lack of signatures. (She pointed out that the Unity Party was challenged by the New Alliance Party and that the challenge was upheld by the Board of Elections.)

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[redacted] discussing her independent campaign for freeholder in New Jersey observed that the independent forces, whether inside or outside the two old parties, do the most registration work and that they have been the key factor in electing labor, African America, Hispanic and women candidates to office.

Discussing her own experience as a candidate, she reported that she got good labor support and that 30 people called her office to volunteer because they wanted an independent to win and were disgusted with the two major parties. Her literature, she said, mentioned that she was a Communist. Among the volunteers, she reported, were many people with whom the Party had no previous contact. "The CP must be involved the electoral arena, or we will have no public face to present to the masses," she stressed.

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[redacted] emphasized among the central factors that will

affect the 1992 elections is the rising anti-war sentiment among the people. She told of various town meetings in New York State and gave details of a peace meeting in Ithaca where 8 people initiated a forum on the Middle East and invited public officials. They reserved a school auditorium with a capacity of 500 -- but 1,000 showed up, most of whom were not traditional anti-war activists. Public TV had footage shown of the meeting around the state. A week later, 30 people went over the fence at protest demonstration at a U.S. Army depot. She urged more such town meetings in building for the Presidential elections.

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[redacted] reported on the coming mayoralty and councilmanic elections in Philadelphia and pointed out that the independent forces were split and that many were disenchanted with the electoral system and are "steering clear" of the electoral arena. Jesse Jackson, she said, played a positive role in trying to bring the splintered forces together on an economic plan of saving the city, including the demand that the banks pay city taxes in Philadelphia.

[redacted] reported that she had been the Unity Party candidate [redacted] because she has been concerned about increasing voter drop-out rate. "We need to provide a vehicle and a program for disgruntled voters, whether within the DP structure or in independent forms," she said. "We need to be flexible. Voters are not apathetic; they're angry."

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[redacted] relating his experiences [redacted] said that the CP took the initiative to organize the Rainbow Coalition as an independent force, working both inside and outside the DP. "The most important thing is to build independent forms that can be flexible in promoting progressive candidates, especially trade unionists, both in or out of the DP," he said. "Whether we're in or out of the DP is a local tactical decision. Central to real independence is financial independence -- its own budget, its own organizational structure which is not dependent on the DP and can function on its own."

The fight for independence, [redacted] added, requires a drastic overhaul of the whole election structure, including registration laws, proportional representation, etc. "Unless we change the electoral rules, we won't have a level playing field for people's candidates."

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[redacted] expressed regret that some of the comrades who were questioning the Party's electoral policy were not present at the panel to express their views. "Our electoral policy grows out of our anti-monopoly strategy," he said. "We should try to elect candidates on the basis of the labor movement, the African-American community, the Hispanic community, and other sections of the anti-monopoly alliance...on an independent basis. If necessary, we work within the Democratic Party. If possible, we work outside of it." [redacted] said he disagreed with those who think the DP can be a vehicle for people's power. The DP is still

funded by, and is a stronghold of monopoly interests, he said.

[redacted] reported that in running as an independent in two successive elections, his campaigns had helped form an independent organization, the Hispanic Political Union, a grouping which still exists. Another independent grouping, GPAC, the Grass Roots Political Action Committee, with which [redacted] has excellent relations. In the elections, GPAC endorsed [redacted] a Communist, several Democrats and one Republican.

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[redacted] said we should as a policy matter "support Progressive Democrats, running on a people's program Independents and CP candidates." And, she added, "It is not realistic to make the DP the vehicle for social change. That doesn't negate supporting independent or progressive Democrats. We need to talk to more trade union leaders about running for office, both in the DP primaries, and in the general elections. And it is important to run CP candidates, because it helps to open up the whole election. We need an electoral policy that encourages independent development."

[redacted] discussing our attitude to the DP, pointed out that on the left there are two extremes: 1) the Socialist Party and some other left groups generally don't want to have anything to do with the DP (although, to be fair to them, they would never run a candidate against a Dellums). The SWP, however, often runs "spite candidates" against progressive Democrats, even as does the New Alliance Party. [redacted] of the Liberty Union Party in Vermont, even ran against [redacted] 2) The DSA (Democratic Socialists of America) see hope only in the DP, not outside of it. There may now be some differences within the DSA on the issue but so far it hasn't broken into the open.

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Our policy is neither. We encourage every expression of political independence and ever since our foundation as a party have urged the formation of a labor party and have broadened the concept into a mass people's party. At the same time we have a solid realistic appreciation of the actual situation in the labor movement and the African American community. We know that they view, pragmatically no doubt, the DP as the only practical vehicle at this point for electoral success. It is entirely understandable that members and supporters of the Congressional Black Caucus have this view, as do the more than 7,000 African American elected officials in the nation. But in virtually all cases, despite their use of the Democratic Party as their vehicle of convenience today, they are generally careful to build their own independent machinery so that they do not have to rely on the Democratic organization -- such as it is. But more than an organizational device, such groupings as the CBC develop a political program, an alternative budget and even a challenge to their own top leadership on such issues as war and peace, as witness Rep. Dellums' leadership of the suit against the Bush Administration on the war question.

There was general agreement in the panel on the policy outlook and complete agreement on the electoral struggles in 1991 and 1992 -- the struggle for peace (the meeting took place a month before Bush opened hostilities), the battles in connection with the recession and the fight against mounting racism and the crucial question of redistricting and its importance for helping to elect more African Americans, more representatives of other oppressed peoples and emphatically more trade unionists.

In this connection the comrades strongly demand escalation of the importance of legislative and political action work, rebuilding of the national apparatus and similar committees in the districts, regular regional conferences and special reports on this field of work at NC meetings and conventions -- in short an electoral party.

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The panel on the Peoples Weekly World met by telephone conference. There were 10 participating locations in California, Oregon, Utah, Pittsburgh, Florida, Connecticut and New York (including New Jersey), with a total of 25 people. In some cases local preparatory meetings had been held. This method of organization proved quite workable and much less expensive than even a small amount of air travel would have been. The panel members recommend that it be explored for other occasions.

In keeping with the mandate of the panels, participants were first invited to suggest areas of possible ideological or policy disagreement for exploration. None were proposed, and subsequent discussion confirmed that there is wide agreement on the basic concept and implementation of the World.

Two rounds of discussion were held, the first focusing on evaluations and suggestions concerning editorial content, the second on circulation and finances. The atmosphere was comradely, constructive and fruitful.

Among the questions raised and explored were the definition of the audience(s) of the World, additional or expanded features which are desired, the diverse forms of circulation and relation to Party participation in mass movements, the question of tone, the World's role as educator, mobilizer and unifier, the Party's relationship to the paper, and the impact of the shift to weekly publication.

Perhaps the most frequently expressed comment about content was the desire for more, and especially more that relates to each of the participants' areas of activity.

There is a desire to have regional edition in the South, and more state editions. There is a desire to have more Spanish-language material, which is utilized in various areas of the country. There were suggestions for additional or expanded coverage on the question of Mexican-Americans, immigration, youth, science, and economic matters. More than one person expressed the importance of having material which reflects club and district concentrations.

People in states which currently have their own editions wish that more of the material in the state pages could be seen by the rest of the country.

There were few suggestions of what we could do with less of.

A second much-discussed question is the one of tone. There was agreement that optimism is essential and is founded in fact, in the reality that the working-class and the communist movement have grounds for confidence in the future. Nothing can be built on pessimism and defeatism.

But the tone should not be simplistically optimistic. It should not shy away from difficulties, but confront problems (as, for example, the two dates for peace demonstrations), explore diverse sides of questions and try to provide answers.

Polemics and discussions with friendly and allied forces should be conducted in a respectful manner, designed to shed light and to strengthen unity. The paper does and should continue to reflect the Party policy of fighting for a broad assemblage of people's forces for peace, democracy, equality and social progress. The breakthroughs of the paper against anti-communism and in establishing strong links with a wide variety of forces in all parts of the people's movement was highly appreciated. Their reflection in our pages is of mutual advantage.

In this connection, all agreed that the paper must have as its primary audience a broad cross-section of the working-class and the nationally oppressed, especially

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organized workers and those who are in the front lines of struggle. This can be combined with addressing the left, activists of various movements and the Party.

The role of the paper as mobilizer and educator were also stressed. Several comrades expressed the desire for more discussion and effective advocacy of socialism and other strategic aims, and education in Marxism.

There were different shadings of opinion about the most effective means of presenting the Party. One felt that the Party and its campaigns were under-reported. Most believed that the Party coverage came through as an organization in struggle, an essential and distinct component of the broad movement.

Most felt weekly publication has produced a more integrated publication and that the magazine-style front page assisted in circulation and focus.

It was agreed that economic struggles were of special importance in this period.

There was much appreciation for original and investigative material and special issues on various questions (Mandela visit, Labor Day, economic crisis, Gulf crisis).

The coverage of the developments in the socialist world were regarded as a unique achievement and point of attraction for the paper, but comrades felt that the developments themselves have a contradictory influence. On the one hand, they have lessened the atmosphere of fear and intimidation and heightened interest. The peace policy of the Soviet Union has greatly increased its prestige. On the other hand, there is concern over the economic and political prospects of socialism among many of socialism's long-time supporters and confusion as to the causes of the developments.

Participants shared the opinion that the paper must continue to evolve and mature in its tone and content, taking into account the greater maturity of its readership and their desire for the exercise of independent judgment

The circulation of the World takes many different forms throughout the country. The size of the city, concentration of the Party and local objective circumstances determine the varied approaches necessary to having an impact with the paper.

The paper is distributed at work sites and unemployment offices, picket lines, labor councils and union halls, in neighborhoods and housing developments, at college campuses, at demonstrations, in newsracks and newsstands, and in many locations where the paper is dropped off for free pickup by interested passers-by.

Making personal contact while distributing the paper is important because it is more likely to result in subscriptions or regular readers and, of course, develop new activists and build the Party. However, dropoffs of the paper and racks/boxes enable a small number of circulators to develop a wide distribution and give the paper visibility and a broad presence in a small community. Developing ways to get subs out of these dropoffs needs more attention. Putting inserts with local PO boxes and giving free trial offers have been successful for getting subs where they have been tried. However, we need much more concentrated work on subscriptions as can be seen by the results of the current sub drive.

In spite of the excellent work being done in some areas and by some comrades, the circulation of the paper is not growing and the reasons need to be thoroughly examined by our Party. What fraction of the Party's membership regularly distributes the paper? Given the wide respect for and influence of the paper, why are there only

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a few comrades who do the majority of circulation work? Are there elements of the content of the paper that need improving to achieve wider interest and circulation? Do we see circulating and fundraising for the paper as mass work or as integrated into our mass work? Are there still fears of being associated with the paper and how can comrades with security problems still contribute to circulation and fundraising? Does the problem of the paper arriving late in many areas limit building the circulation? Given that our senior comrades have been the mainstay of both circulation and fundraising, how do we ideologically convince and inspire the next generation to take up this important work?

Since there were disagreements with our previous formulation that "the paper was the centerpiece of the club's work" because it seemed to have caused some clubs to see work with the paper as replacing mass struggle, some felt we need further discussion on the concept and possibly a new formulation that shows the paper as the centerpiece for the Party overall, i.e. the most important institution the Party has and an essential tool to clubs in mass struggle.

A much more organized approach to circulation, to thinking creatively and constantly trying new ways to get the paper out is key to the growth of the paper. Likewise, expanding the number of subscribers, organizing activities that emphasize outreach and building readers support is fundamental to maintaining the paper financially.

Due to a decreased budget and new approaches to increasing the income, including a more realistic bundle price, a subscription rate that pays for itself and the soliciting of advertising, for the first time the paper can be reader supported. However, fulfilling this year's \$450,000 fund drive is absolutely necessary to meeting this year's budget.

This year's drive will for the first time begin a sustainer campaign to spread the fundraising base to 1,000 new sustaining contributors who make contributions throughout the year. The drive will also be kicked off by a national tour [redacted]

[redacted] In all aspects of the drive, from club events to district-wide events, we need to emphasize outreach, bring new friends, activists and readers to the activities that raise money for the paper. Ideas and experiences from clubs across the country will be shared through the fund drive newsletter and the pages of the paper during the drive.

In all areas of fundraising our Party is learning to work in new ways and needs to expand this approach. Since the bundle costs have gone up, comrades are finding new ways to raise money for the bundles, like having an extra event, or adding their yearly bundle bill onto their fund drive goal or getting bundle sustainers from individuals in their area, or carrying a can at an industrial site, or simply asking recipients for a donation. In one area recycling aluminum cans and newspaper helps pay for the bundle.

Discussion of outreach on a new level in building the circulation of the paper and broadening our fundraising base should be an important part of pre-convention discussion and be taken up by every club. There is a high degree of respect for the paper among its readers and in our party. It deserves and can have a much wider circulation in our country and a growth in its size and influence will guarantee a broader base of readers dedicated to maintaining it financially.

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DRAFT DOCUMENT OF THE PANEL ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIALISM

The panel met for two days, December 15 and 16, with 13 participants--roughly one-half of those assigned to the panel. Discussion was lively, democratic and comradely. The report represents, in its main sections, the views of a substantial majority of the panel participants. It also includes a summary of major issues on which differences were expressed both at the meetings and in papers submitted by panel members.

This report is being distributed to all members assigned to the panel, including those who did not attend the meetings. Copies of papers submitted to the panel will also be distributed as soon as they are available.

The panel will meet again in February, date to be determined. Please make every effort to attend, whether or not you attended the December sessions. The deliberations of this panel are an extremely important part of the pre-convention discussion of the Party, especially in this time when stormy events are sweeping the socialist world and powerful struggles for socialism are developing in the capitalist world.

Written contributions received prior to the February meeting will be welcome and, to the extent possible, will be duplicated and sent to all panelists. Please send comments to Victor Perlo, panel chair, at:
235 West 23rd Street, New York, New York 10011

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On the first day of the meeting, the panel discussed the situation of socialism in the USSR. On the second day, the situation of socialism in Eastern Europe was covered; the struggles of socialist forces in Latin America and other developing countries and, briefly, the question of socialism in the United States.

Among participants, a wide range of opinions concerning developments in the socialist world were voiced. The discussion was comradely and open. There was consensus on some key questions: agreement that socialism is a superior system to capitalism--a crucial starting point; agreement that imperialism is not dead and is still the main enemy.

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...the USSR. In less than two
...strong socialist industry and agriculture.
...provision of jobs, decent labor conditions,
...formerly colonized peoples, basic necessities—
...the workers of the entire world.

...progress was made despite the capitalist blockade and the
...threat of war from the fascist war machine. It was the people of the USSR, at
...terrible cost, who decisively defeated Hitler's army and led in the defeat of
...the Axis. Thereafter they rebuilt the severely damaged country and markedly
...raised living and cultural standards to become the world's second greatest
...economic power. The progress of the USSR created conditions that facilitated
...victorious socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe, China, Korea and Mongolia.
...The USSR's success in keeping up with the nuclear arms race forced by the
...United States changed the world balance of power. It helped create conditions
...whereby most of Africa and Asia achieved liberation from colonialism, and a
...number of developing countries, headed by Cuba, took the course of socialism.

Following the policy of proletarian internationalism, the USSR gave
...economic and political assistance to countries liberated from imperialism and
...to forces fighting for liberation.

But these very real, positive accomplishments were marred by several
...serious, negative related factors:

. The cold war. The continuous threat of nuclear aggression; the arms
...race and economic warfare by U.S. imperialism and its allies, compelling
...diversion of science, human and material resources to defense.

. Insufficient application of the technological breakthroughs, necessary
...to achieve military strategic parity, to develop a fully modern consumers
...goods industry.

. Growth of a privileged bureaucracy, and corruption.

. Inadequate proficient and credible ideological work among the people.

. Illusions about capitalism and underestimation of capitalist ideological
...warfare and active sabotage; and, conversely, weakness in counter-propaganda
...by socialist countries.

. Economic shortcomings, weaknesses in central planning, inability to
...develop a sufficiently flexible system of material and moral incentives to
...stimulate rapid increases in labor productivity.

...the USSR, these problems have retarded progress.

1990. The...
capitalist...
the structure of planning...
accounting regulations...
Thus by 1990 the increase...
creating shortages of...

...providing more decentralization so as to encourage...
of individual and other production collectives...
improved labor conditions, providing workers with more direct influence...
workplace operations, including the right to choose managers of their enter-
prises; at providing more housing and consumer goods...

Until 1988 there were marked economic gains. The supply of housing and necessities rose substantially; personal freedoms were broadened as cold-war-imposed restrictions were eased. The Soviet leadership conducted a skillful and effective campaign for peace and disarmament.

However, new weaknesses appeared. The leadership depended almost solely on economists and other professional advisors, neglecting workers' input on policy. Structural political changes reduced workingclass representation in the Soviets. A large part of the media came under control of prejudiced critics of their own society and its history, giving rein, instead to fulsome admiration of capitalism. In fact, the ideological struggle against capitalism was largely abandoned, while the anti-socialist propoganda offensive by imperialism was intensified, for the first time having substantial centers of influence inside the USSR. Nor has monopoly capitalism relaxed economic warfare against the USSR, and the pressure of the arms race has accelerated despite the Soviet Union's unilateral substantial military reductions.

A salient factor was the program of drastic changes in property relations adopted by the leadership in 1988. The slogans popularized were of transferring to a "market economy" and joining the "civilized world market."

The term "market economy" is a euphemism for capitalism, and its proposed provisions had direct social implications. The central theme was equality before the law of all forms of property: socialist, publicly-owned, cooperative enterprises, individual private enterprises, stock corporations. There was talk for the creation of a stock exchange and other institutions characteristic of capitalist societies. Not further, even the concept of equality before the law of all forms was abandoned by 1990, when priority was given to privatization of state-owned enterprises which, if carried out, would eliminate the foundations...

...the abolition of the government's regulation of interest rates, and other methods of Western capitalism.

...promises that the transition to a "market economy" would not involve exploitation of labor were shattered; millions of workers already employed by "cooperatives" that were really small and modified capitalist businesses. Enterprises were encouraged to sell goods outside the structure of planned deliveries, weakening planning. Violations of accounting regulations led to an excessive supply of money in circulation. Thus by 1990 the increasingly powerful private sector was hoarding goods and creating shortages of necessities.

Introduction of significant aspects of capitalist anarchy disrupted production. Growth slowed in 1989 and production turned seriously downward in 1990 as unemployment spread.

By the fall of 1990, debates in the Supreme Soviet and among politicians centered on what forms and by what routes the transition to capitalism should take place. While some contended that this transition to a "market economy" was still within the "socialist choice," the most aggressive and openly anti-Communist elements made no bones about their capitalist aim. The country was loaded with American and other Western advisors who were providing know-how on the implementation of capitalism, while Soviet specialists and students were sent to the United States and Japan, especially, for similar training.

Simultaneously, the pro-imperialist and nationalist factions added to the difficulties by launching separatist movements in many of the Soviet republics--including the Russian Republic--threatening to smash the Soviet state.

But the core of the Communist Party, the majority of the working class, oppose and resist this course and the anti-socialist privatization schemes. At the end of 1990, there was a major upsurge of the movement in defense of Soviet socialism. President Gorbachev criticized himself for not adequately considering the views of workers.

This draft represents a reflection of the majority opinion by the drafting committee. Around this consensus there were a wide variety of opinions expressed about the perestroika program and the role of the Gorbachev leadership of the CPSU, both in its effects on the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. One comrade saw the Gorbachev leadership as "rightwing revisionist" and the perestroika program as "disastrous" and a "disaster," an outlook supported in varying degrees by a number of others. Another comrade

to the profiteers and their financial allies. Huge stocks of necessary supplies were uncovered in and around Moscow, where the shortages were most severe. The Council of People's Deputies has approved legislation granting strong powers to the President to save the country and stabilize the situation.

Similarly, by a wide margin, it elected a solid Communist Vice-President. Strong appointments were made in the intelligence and military sectors. The former foreign minister, the outstanding ideological capitulator to imperialism, Shevardnadze, announced his intention to resign. Alexander Yakovlev, at one time President Gorbachev's closest advisor and most-pro-capitalist associate, was dropped from leadership.

An intense struggle is underway to save the Soviet Union and to save socialism there. Gorbachev aptly compared the struggle going on with the Soviet defense of Moscow and at Stalingrad in World War II. The fiction that the "market economy" is other than outright capitalism has been exposed, and its identity with capitalism is conceded for Eastern Europe. Year-end results tell of the terrible setbacks suffered by these countries and, of course, especially by their workers, who have sustained drastic cuts in real wages. There is mass unemployment and loss of political influence, while their countries are becoming semi-colonies of Western imperialism. And the proposed "market economy" programs in the USSR, whether that of Shatalin or of Ryzhkov, are no different in principle from those now wrecking a number of East European states.

While stepping back from the brink, Gorbachev has not abandoned his verbal adherence to the "market economy" approach. The renegade former Communists, Yeltsin, Popov and Sobchak--demagogues with considerable political power and influence--are doing their best to obstruct consolidation and stabilization. Whole echelons of young intellectuals have been infected with revisionist ideology, repudiating the entire history and outstanding achievements of their country.

...territory. The word of imperialist
...the Soviet Union is shattered with the first expressions
...not following the course demanded by Washington.
...policy expression and practices represents
...danger to the American people. It is clear that the peace movement, which has
...increased its activity and influence in other directions with the impetus of
...Middle East developments, must revive its struggle for peace and full normal
...economic and cultural relations with the USSR; for ending nuclear tests; for
...complete nuclear disarmament and the ending of the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The recent changes in the Soviet Union are still gathering momentum. They represent the beginning of a major turning point, taking place in conditions of economic difficulty and political conflict. The essential point is that the workers and their Communist Party are mobilizing forces and exercising decisiveness and leadership.

This gives hope that the original, positive goals of perestroika will be achieved, an all-round reform and modernization of Soviet society along paths that strengthen its socialist and democratic essence and lead to accelerated improvement in the living and working conditions of the Soviet people; that the ideology of Marxism-Leninism will be restored to dominance and the necessary ideological struggle against capitalism and imperialist aggression and war will be resumed; that the principles of proletarian internationalism, which have governed the domestic and international policies of the USSR throughout its history, will be reconfirmed and strengthened.

Socialism has deep roots in the USSR. Members of the panel have confidence in the working class and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in their triumph over existing crises.

standards.

The weakness of the Communist Parties that survived World War II in a number of these countries.

The influence anti-socialist propaganda from nearby West Germany and West Berlin, etc., which, with the turn in Soviet policies, was no longer countered by ideological propaganda from the USSR.

The shift in Soviet foreign policy weakened the cohesiveness of the socialist camp and encouraged accommodation to capitalism.

Ossification of leadership in the socialist countries, accompanied by a lack of depth and real participation in socialist/democratic structures.

Inability to compete in providing variety and quality consumers goods due partly to weaknesses in economic/scientific-technical policy and partly to the effectiveness of capitalist economic warfare that prevented access to many technical advances.

Illusions among the masses about advantages of capitalism and about the readiness of the West to "aid" in raising living standards if the capitalist system was adopted. The influence of emigres from socialist countries who falsely portrayed capitalism and who financed counterrevolutionaries.

Far-reaching political and economic retreats, including concessions to domestic and world capitalist forces, which caused the accumulation of huge foreign debts and lowered living standards in Poland and Hungary, thereby creating a field day for anti-Communist propagandists.

Weakening of economic and political ties within the COMECON and Warsaw Pact--a by-product of parasitism in the USSR--and opportunistic switching to Western connections at the expense of socialist commitments by some Eastern European countries.

In many of the East European countries there have been drastic reductions in industrial production and even more severe reductions in real wages, rising unemployment and rampant inflation. A revival of capitalist economic warfare and the penetration of Western capital.

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In Bulgaria and Romania—at least to date—socialist-oriented governments retain power.

Since the panel met, there have been additional developments.

The anti-Communists in power in Prague admit that they have not yet succeeded in changing much: "The past year has been preparing the patient for the operating table," The government wants, in 1991, to apply the shock therapy that "traumatized Poland, helping cause a plunge in industrial output of more than 20 percent." They hope it won't be as bad. But the Finance Minister admits that "The program will have negative consequences for industrial output and employment.... There will be dissatisfaction. There may be social unrest." (NYT, 1/1/91)

Quoting the Economics Minister: "Nobody will tell what the tolerance limit of the population will be.... People voted for a Government that promised hardships, lower living standards and some unemployment. It's one thing to be for a market economy, and another thing to experience the not-so-nice side of the market economy." (Ibid.)

The plan is to raise prices 60% while holding wage increases to 20%. And the Minister lied: the government didn't promise hardships. It promised "freedom," and the "benefits" of Western capitalism. The anticipated hardships are to provide the source of the profits for Czech capitalists and for the capitalist foreign investors.

Issues that Have to be Further Thrashed Out.

1. The argument that socialism in Eastern Europe was not home-grown but imposed by the Red Army.

Discussion: Panelists brought out that there were strong sentiments for revolution against the capitalist classes that had capitulated to or collaborated with Hitler's fascist occupiers. There were real popular struggles over the course of development. Communists grew greatly in number and in

... progress of Communist and allied parties, allied with peasant movements, in the last 20 years. Communists lead in the government of Korea and are rapidly becoming so in Cuba.

The role of Communists in the African National Congress and the initial major victories against Apartheid represent an advance of world-scale significance. The majority of panelists agreed with those who understand that socialism is an important goal of the South African Communists and the ANC.

Grievous as are the setbacks to socialism in Eastern Europe, the gains of Communist and pro-socialist forces in the developing world involve several times more people. Thus Marxism Leninism and socialism remain viable and far from vanquished.

Discussion of socialism in China was left for the follow-up panel meeting.

The United States

Never before has the decay and corruption of U.S. capitalism been more apparent than at present. The majority of the panel believe that there is no possible lasting cure for its evils; that it must be replaced by socialism. We believe that the specific features of U.S. socialism will be in part peculiar to the United States, because of its history, culture and socio-economic conditions. Progressive and revolutionary thinkers have long suggested blueprints for Socialism U.S.A. The Communist Party is carrying forward that tradition. The Party believes that only the working class can and must achieve socialism to liberate itself from capitalist oppression; that socialism is the fulfillment of freedom and democracy in modern life; that the struggle against racism in the United States is integral to both the victory of the working class in the struggle for socialism and democracy and the struggle against imperialism.

It was the consensus that the Party has to greatly increase and expand its propaganda for Socialism U.S.A. Because the United States is protected by oceans and has a strong economy, there are better chances for accomplishing a socialist revolution democratically, without outside intervention or armed conflict. But this is not certain. More important, because of these factors, socialism can confer great benefits on the people immediately. The evils of capitalism are becoming more and more apparent to larger segments of the population.

and are being identified as evils of the system. We must fight for reforms, but the capitalist system as such cannot be reformed.

One comrade set forth an 11-point proposal for a propaganda approach to win people for socialism; another stressed better use of the mass media and more use of legislative bodies. One stressed the wide-open opportunities for socialist propaganda and renewed organizational efforts among farmers; and another mentioned the potential support for fundamental change among middle strata of the population. The comrade representing the youth said:

"How exciting the idea of socialism, putting the idea of socialism out there. One of the things that convinced me about socialism is that capitalism can't do it; it doesn't work. Young people face a futureless future, and you don't have to go too far to convince young people that capitalism doesn't work. Socialism USA is the most popular piece when we table and we always run out of it first. Another pamphlet is a reprint of Einstein's essay on Why Socialism. We have to think more about saving the environment under socialism in the U.S.A."

The panel discussion ended in an upbeat tone of optimism and unity. There was spontaneous applause.

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DRAFT
The Communist Party — Nature and Role
Regional Panel, Dec. 15-16, 1990

On certain fundamental concepts, the panel was in unanimous agreement: that the Communist Party — which has made vital contributions in the fight for peace, for an all-people's anti-Reagan front, in the new militancy of the labor movement and in the growing coalition of the trade union and African-American equality movements — is a necessary part of the political scene; that its prime responsibility is to build class and socialist consciousness; that the working class is the Party's anchor and that the class struggle is the motive force of history; that Marxism-Leninism is our guiding science; and that socialism is our goal. Some panel members felt that unanimity on the panel doesn't necessarily reflect the situation in our Party and that we must find the ways to argue for the Communist Party and for these basic ideas in the new period.

The discussion in the panel demonstrated a common approach on a wide variety of issues as well as continuing differences on others. Differences were discussed in the context of ensuring the survival and organization unity of our Party. The panel recognized that differences are an inevitable and natural part of the process. What is important is to encourage discussion of differences with an eye to building Party unity.

Political differences exist for a number of reasons. Often, comrades who share the same experience differ in their interpretation. A number of comrades stated that the role of the Party is to look for what is new and developing; the Party should, therefore, emphasize the positive. Other comrades stated that too often we overemphasize the positive and don't give adequate attention to analyzing the negative.

In addition, differing experiences lead to differing estimates. A comrade from one district spoke of the district leadership's lack of consultation with the membership on policy questions, while a comrade from another district said her experience was just the opposite.

It was agreed that a sharing of experiences and estimates is necessary to develop a balanced assessment; it may not be correct to draw general conclusions based on a particular experience, but general conclusions not based on the particular experiences of the Party organization are also not accurate. More extensive collective discussion and communication will help the Party draw the proper conclusions from both kinds of experiences.

The panel divided the discussion into three parts: the impact of objective conditions on the work of the Party; the Party and mass movements; the Party itself. Highlights of the discussion follow.

Objective conditions

The panel agreed that we are working in a period that is both difficult and full of new possibilities. It is a period of transition. The setbacks and defeats in the socialist world, the economic crisis with its sharp racist and sexist features, the new forms of racism, the growing poverty and exploitation and the threat of war in the Middle East

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are among the factors making our work more difficult. In particular, recent events in a number of socialist countries have had a demoralizing and disorienting effect on our Party and on the broader left.

On the other hand, the possibility of ending the cold war and applying a peace dividend to the nation's domestic problems, the grassroots upsurge across a spectrum of social issues, the elevation of the struggle for democracy to the top of the agenda and a growing acceptance of Communists in coalitions — these are among the factors opening up new possibilities for the work of our Party.

The panel also agreed that the Party, although active on a number of fronts, is not measuring up to what is necessary or possible in this period. Opinions differed as to why that is so. Some on the panel believe that objective factors are the prime limitation on the slow growth of the Party. While the cold war may be ending internationally, it is as strong as ever at home. The ruling class has not given up its effort to destroy our Party. The FBI and CIA are still hard at work, and the intensity of ruling-class propaganda has reached a new high. New forms of anti-communism, which have been developed to take the place of older, less useful forms, are major ideological factors to take into account. These comrades also believe that the general level of consciousness among working people is a factor that must be taken into account in assessing the possibilities for growth of Party membership and influence.

Other comrades believe that, while there are objective factors that hold back Party growth, there are subjective reasons why the Party is not growing faster. They believe that our Party has lost touch with important mass movements and that it is not structured to encourage the widest participation of the membership in setting policy (see below).

The Party and the mass movement

Building our Party, building the mass movements and building left forms are aspects of the same process. But opinions differ as to the relationship between these aspects. Some on the panel feel that the question has been placed incorrectly in the Party, that the general guideline has been that we must build the Party first and then build mass movements. They believe that such an approach would guarantee that neither is built. Others don't agree that the question has been placed in that manner.

Experience has shown that where Party organizations have addressed the day-to-day issues in communities and shops, where Communists are seen as bold, active and committed, Party membership has increased. The panel agreed that building a mass Party is most effective at the grassroots level when there is a focus on working in and with mass organizations in the club's concentration area. More attention must be given to helping the clubs become collectives in which mass work is discussed.

The panel also agreed that mass movements benefit politically, ideologically and practically from the participation of Communists and therefore of a larger Party.

The panel reaffirmed the Party's responsibility to build left forms, but opinions differ on what our experience has been and on the source of the difficulties we have encountered. A left form can be one of our most important and effective avenues for participation in a mass movement, but only if our Party has a proper approach to work in that mass movement.

One of the problems in our mass work is that while individual Communists are

active in movements, organizations and coalitions, the Party organization often is not. For example, many Communists are active members of Women for Racial and Economic Equality, but the Party as a collective lacks a strategy for this work. Such a weakness undermines the ability of Communists to make their special contribution in WREE. Some comrades feel that this lack of collective attention to specific areas of mass work indicates an incorrect understanding of the relationship between the Party and mass movements and of the concept of a mass Party.

State and district committees on specific areas of mass work are invaluable forms for assisting the clubs in their grassroots work.

A reexamination of our Party's relationships with mass organizations and movements — including CBTU, NAARPR, NOW, CLUW and the anti-apartheid, electoral and trade union movements — is needed.

The Party is most helpful in mass movements when it has a plan arrived at collectively and when it allocates resources to implement the plan. Our work in the anti-Bork movement and support for the Pittston miners are examples of what we can accomplish with a national perspective and collective action.

Sometimes we don't follow through on our plans. Objective conditions change and we don't reassess our tactics. This lack of consistency hurts both the particular mass movement and the Party. For instance, following the Milwaukee conference, the Party launched a national campaign to build unemployed councils. Communists were assigned to this movement. But when the recession abated, we dropped attention to that movement, which foundered. Our excellent work in helping to build an all-people's anti-Reagan front stopped when Reagan left office, even though Reaganism continued under Bush. In New York City, the Party's concentration on transit did not survive in practice much beyond the last strike.

The panel agreed that our mass work has two contradictory aspects, both of which are necessary: a mass character, reflected in our work at the grassroots; and a cadre character, reflected in our participation in leadership of movements. Finding the proper balance between these aspects is especially difficult for a small Party like ours.

The Party

There is a difference of opinion on whether the Party is growing: some on the panel believe that it is, others believe it is not.

The relationship between Party work and mass work was an issue of much debate. Some on the panel believe that the separation of the two is artificial, that there is no work that is not Party work. They state that Party leadership derives its experience and authority from participation in mass movements and that when Party work and mass work are seen as separate or different, the tendency is for Party leaders to be drawn out of mass work.

Others on the panel believe that there is and must be a difference between Party work and mass work. They say that the Party needs people whose responsibility it is to give full attention to problems of organization, education, etc. Party leaders should be encouraged to be active in mass movements, they believe, but some full-time cadre must give full-time attention to ensuring the functioning of the organization itself. Party leadership as a collective should reflect both those who have major responsibility in the Party organization and those whose main work is in mass movements.

Is our Party democratic? The panel agrees that recent steps — including publication of *Dialog*, the 10 regional panels and publication of more material from National Committee meetings — are positive and that more must be done. But estimates differ on the level of democracy in our Party. One opinion holds that the membership is not involved in setting policy. Information is not given to the Party organization about discussions in leading bodies, including about differences in leadership on issues under discussion.

Another opinion holds that the Party is democratic but that serious weaknesses must be corrected. Not only must new forms and structures be developed to expand Party democracy, they maintain, but better use should be made of existing forms, not only at the national level, but also at the club and district levels.

The panel agrees that full-time Party workers should take a critical look at how they work. While the Party membership appreciates the commitment of full-time cadre, some on the panel felt that certain styles of work need improvement, including a willingness to listen and to accept criticism. The new period in which we live requires a reevaluation of existing styles of work. A working-class style of leadership should be the constant goal.

An essential aspect of the proper functioning of a Communist Party is the process of criticism and self-criticism, a process that has been distorted in the recent period. Slander and personal attacks have no place in our Party. Expression of difference must be directed at issues and ideas, not at people. The differences themselves, not the comrades who raise them, should be seen as the problems to resolve. Varying views were expressed: that the answer to differences lies not in extremes but in a balanced approach; that there is no room for vilification, which demoralizes the Communist forces and strengthens the hand of the class enemy; and that what is needed is a principled, honest discussion about differences.

Because we are not a debating society, a thorough, democratic discussion must lead to a resolution of action. The principle of majority rule must be upheld; once a decision is made, it is the responsibility of everyone to implement it. The Party membership is looking not for agitation but for answers on how to move in this new period.

Collectively developed plans at all levels of Party organization can help make criticism and self-criticism and check-up and review more constructive and concrete.

The panel agrees that Party education should include our methodology. Communists need to know *how* to analyze problems as well as to understand issues and events.

We need to reaffirm in practice the concept of the main link, which is intertwined with the concept of concentration. In a number of areas the Party has lost its grip on these concepts, with the result that the Party organization is pulled in too many directions, running from one fire to the next. Identifying the main link and selecting a concentration is difficult in practice because the pressures of the moment force the Party to respond to the immediate issues and struggles.

democratic centralism in the Party. The panel agreed that democratic centralism is a method for transforming theory into practice, and in turn assessing experience and developing and strengthening our theory. It ensures the Party does not become a debating society but remains an effective instrument of change, a Party of action.

The panel agreed the Party is not above mistakes and weaknesses in the implementation of democratic centralism. The success of democratic centralism is the responsibility of the entire Party, both leadership and membership. Criticism and self-criticism is essential in identifying weaknesses and correcting and strengthening both democracy and centralism.

There were differing opinions in the panel over what were the sources of weaknesses and what corrections are needed. Some maintained that serious deformations occurred in its implementation that have affected most Communist Parties around the world. Others felt it was difficult to find a single source for weaknesses in the implementation of democratic centralism.

Basic Principles
Every organization has a method for making decisions, their implementation and for electing leadership. The method of democratic centralism was not adopted out of thin air. It grew out of the historical experiences of the revolutionary working class movement. For example, one feature is seen in a strike. Once workers vote to strike, class unity is necessary to win. Everyone, regardless if they voted for the strike or not, join the strike to preserve unity. Sabotage is seen as a betrayal that goes against the interests of the workers.

Lenin once remarked the working class movement is not a debating society. It is a Party of action. The Party is able to correct its mistakes and strengthen its leadership. The Party is able to correct its mistakes and strengthen its leadership. The Party is able to correct its mistakes and strengthen its leadership.

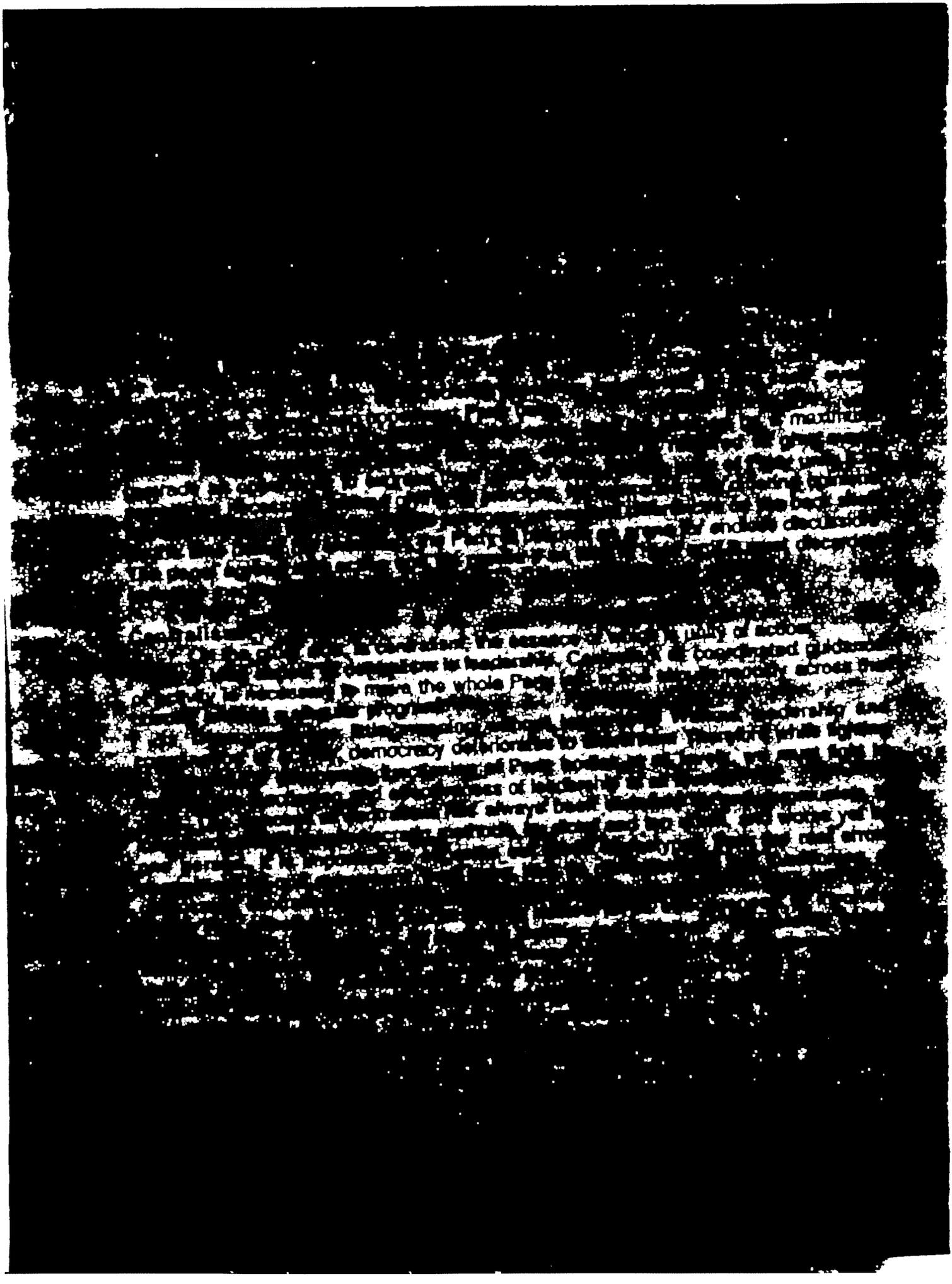
...the fact is that democratic functioning of the Party. The members of the Party should know somewhat of the definition of democracy and its level in the Party. All this is contained in the Party rules in principle. Democracy is not an abstract concept, it is not to be discussed in terms of classes and class struggle. The exercise of democracy can not be

...the Party democracy means having to be done in a way that allows for the involvement and participation in decision making and election of leadership. It is the conditions under which the Party operates. The conditions vary widely and therefore the possibilities for democracy vary widely. In its most fundamental form democracy means the thought out activity and work of clubs, the level of organization where most of the membership are in contact with the Party. The club is where the Party is in most basic contact with the workers and people in the shops, communities, and campuses. It is the basic unit of the Party and its policy on a local grassroots level.

The club is where the Party concretely tests and brings to its assessments the experiences and creativity of the clubs are essential for formulating and developing the policy of the Party. While clubs operate under general conditions, every club undertakes the work of its members in specific and unique set of circumstances. This requires each club to create its own and elaborate Party policy in diverse programs in its specific conditions. The more the club is active and taking initiative in the community, shop or campus, the more its membership is drawn into collective activity, decision making and

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March 1954

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the organization rules and constitution.

In practical terms this means: The right of all members to take part in the discussion and formulation of policy and the duty of all members to work for that policy when it is decided. Everyone must agree to place the fight for Party decisions above all else.

Strengthening democratic centralism

Democratic centralism changes to fit the new demands of the Party in the class struggle. The panel agreed there is a need to constantly strengthen both democracy and centralism.

Our Party has taken some important steps over the years to deepen the involvement of the membership and develop, strengthen and broaden the leadership. These steps include the creation of the National Council and a vastly expanded National Committee, which brought many new younger comrades into national leadership; the holding of various conferences, like the 1986 elections conference, the trade union, Ideological, African American Equality conferences; the regular functioning of commissions, both national and state.

The panel agreed the establishment of Dialogue and the panels were positive developments, as were the establishment of the new regional structures and the holding of open mike sessions on a district and club level. There were differences in the panel over the nature of these innovations. Nevertheless they are seen as important forms to discuss out and resolve issues of disagreement.

While these are important developments, it was agreed that we could go even further. On the leadership level, many on the Panel were in favor of reducing the size of the National Committee as much as possible while preserving its representative character in order to enhance its ability to elaborate policy. The reasons are the expense involved in assembling the NC and the need to improve the collective discussion at NC meetings by allowing more time for speakers. It was felt NC meetings should take place more frequently. Some said every three or four months, while others felt every other month. But it was also felt now was not the appropriate time to reduce its size since it might further aggravate disunity.

In the mean time it was also felt that there are other things which can be done to strengthen the participation of the membership in the decision making process. These include strengthening the role of regional bodies, more regional meetings of the National Committee members, state and district leaders, meetings of district and club leaders with the national leadership, citywide meetings of club chairs and membership meetings and other forms. In looking at the functioning of the National Committee, the panel felt we should also take another look at the role and functioning of the National Council.

The panel agreed the Party should institute a system for membership referendums on major questions. The method for implementation was not discussed.

Another aspect of strengthening democracy is through significantly upgrading Party education and ideological work. Part of strengthening unity, is strengthening the fight for Party decisions by the membership. Party decisions can't be imposed on the membership. Members become convinced of a particular course of action or position through their participation in the decision making process and through wide ranging discussion of all decisions. An effective education program is essential that helps the membership understand the Party's policy and deepens their understanding of its theoretical underpinnings.

Elections

An important feature of Party democracy is the election of leadership. Every member has the right to run for and be elected to any leadership position. Most felt that democratic centralism can not be reduced to the method for electing a leadership, but that our method also shows the advanced democratic character of the Party.

The panel agreed the Convention is the highest decision making body in the Party and should elect the national committee. It also agreed that affirmative action guidelines should be employed to guarantee working class, national and racial, male and female composition.

The panel agreed there was a need to strengthen accountability of those elected. It was felt that the constitution should provide for the right of lower bodies, particularly clubs to initiate recall of members of higher bodies.

Process to elect the National Committee

While there was not agreement on how the process for electing the national leadership could be improved, the panel agreed the Party as a whole needed to better understand the current process.

We understand the process as the following. The Party constitution states the National Convention is the highest authority in the organization. Its purpose is to bring together representatives from all levels of the organization and from all areas of work. The convention represents the general interests of the Party and supersedes all local interests. One of its responsibilities is to elect a national leadership collective that serves the interests of the entire Party and leads the Party in implementing the policy decisions made by the convention.

The process for electing the new national committee is an exhaustive one and actually begins well before the convention. The aim is to elect the very best, the most representative leadership collective possible. The method to accomplish this is by way of thorough discussion and consultation with the district and state leadership and among the delegates at the convention itself.

An essential responsibility of the outgoing leadership is to organize the transition process for the new leadership. While a new collective will be elected, continuity in leadership is also important.

A list is assembled by the outgoing national board, often larger than the projected size of the new national committee. This list is turned over to the Presiding Committee which is elected by the convention. The presiding committee is itself representative of the convention and has representatives of all of the major districts, commissions, etc. Discussions take place in the presiding committee, who also conduct consultations with the state delegations. On various occasions state caucus have met to discuss the nominations.

Once the slate is proposed to the convention by the presiding committee, there is still a possibility for further nominations from the floor. Nominations are closed by a vote.

The convention is asked to vote for a maximum and a minimum number of candidates. The size of the maximum and minimum are voted on by the convention. This prevents bullet voting for certain candidates and not others and ensures the carefully crafted balance in the collective is not destroyed.

Democracy is ensured by electing the most representative and balanced collective to lead the whole Party. Electing the best collective leadership possible is not easy. Many factors have to be taken into consideration. First the political

composition of the new body - the new leadership should be composed of the best and most effective and respected fighters and builders of the Party. The new collective must also reflect the various political struggles the Party is engaged in: trade union, African American community, anti-racist struggles, for women's equality, peace and solidarity, environmental, youth, etc.

In electing leadership, the process can leave nothing to chance. Therefore affirmative action is needed to guarantee composition. The new collective must reflect the working class, national and racial, male-female, older and younger and regional character of the Party.

The panel was interested in the proposal from Eastern Pennsylvania which proposed that district and state conventions make non-binding nominations of national committee candidates from their districts and states.

Other Issues

The panel took up a number of other questions but was unable to completely identify and resolve areas of difference. For example, the panel discussed factionalism. We agreed factionalism was bad for the Party. We agreed to define it as the organized activity outside of party bodies, whereby a group functions with its own internal discipline. Factional activity can come from groups or individuals in leadership of the Party or groups or individuals not in leadership; the prime measuring stick is that the integrity of existing party bodies is not respected.

However the panel differed in what constituted factionalism, what its source was and how it could be overcome. This discussion will resume at our next meeting.

The panel also touched on questions of cadre development, full time Party workers, the circulation of documents, improving the coordination between Party bodies and between the center and the districts and clubs. Further discussion is needed in future panel meetings.

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Draft Report on Trade Union Panel

The day and a half meeting of the panel on the trade union movement was attended by 16 people from Illinois, Ohio, Western Pa, Michigan and New York. Every person spoke at least once on every topic discussed.

The one constant theme that ran throughout the meeting was the recognition that the report from the panel should not only help give focus to our pre-convention discussion but should also serve to improve the Party's trade union work even as the discussion continues.

Several comrades who had previously expressed differences with our trade union policies were not able to attend. Obviously their participation would have been helpful in probing questions where differences exist.

Key elements that are the basis of our current tactical approaches to trade union work;

1) that there is a sharpening class struggle in the face of a continuing anti-labor onslaught by Corporate America and 2) that what we called "fresh winds" in labor several years ago has brought about the growth of a broad left current in the labor movement, were both validated by the experiences of every speaker.

After a half day of general discussion, much of which dealt with the left in labor, the panel attempted to tackle specific topics in the discussion. The first topic explored was building and consolidating the left in labor.

As stated above, there was unanimous recognition of the existence of a "broad, general trade union left" that has developed over the last several years. Several speakers suggested, and I think there was unanimous agreement, that this broad left now participates in the leadership of key local unions, central labor councils and

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reaches into and includes members of the AFL-CIO executive council. This broad left is reflected in a wide variety of activity from strike support to political action and more and more has the ability to influence the entire labor movement. There were differing estimates of the Party's response to these developments.

There was general agreement that CLUW, CBTU and, in a different way, Jobs with Justice, were important organized expressions of the broad left and that we should work with them and help build and strengthen them.

At the same time there was a unanimous feeling that more was needed and that the Party must continue to probe and test in action, ways to help crystallize centers of left initiatives. Emphasis was placed on flexibility and on the importance of rank and file based forms that can move leadership. It was felt that vehicles for left initiatives were especially needed to project broad and coordinated efforts to organize the unorganized and to stimulate struggles for affirmative action.

At the same time there was recognition of the fact that a pro-capitalist and anti-socialist ideology is dominant among some in the top leadership of the AFL-CIO and that while it has diminished, red-baiting remains a problem. The point was also made that these forces in leadership wage a constant attack on those in labor who speak out on broad issues and try to connect with the rest of the broad peoples movements. One comrade described it as a direct attack on the concept of and progress towards an anti-monopoly coalition.

It was also felt that organizations like Labor Notes, with their combination of anti-communism and anti-leadership rhetoric, remain a divisive element in labor's ranks.

Several speakers addressed the need for some kind of national coordinating center - others spoke of the need for a "national left form", and still others stressed the need for a national publication that would give voice to and help organize around the issues of greatest concern to the broad left currents in the trade union movement. .

Another key area of concern was the condition of the nation's cities and the need to stimulate joint action by labor and cities leaders. Several speakers stressed the

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importance of initiatives for mass action in this regard.

Our discussion on this topic left several unanswered questions. Some felt a clearer definition of the left was needed. Probed, but unanswered was the "how to do it" element in building left forms. The panel agreed that further discussion on this was needed during the pre-convention period.

The second specific topic taken up by the panel was the fight for affirmative action. Several people spoke about the crisis facing the struggle for affirmative action in the conditions of a shrinking and restructured economy. Some felt that the "traditional demands and approaches" were not enough to assure equality in the work place and in the ranks of the labor movement.

The panel agreed that there needed to be a stepped up fight for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and that affirmative action clauses needed to be won in every union contract. The panel saw affirmative action as including re-establishment of apprenticeship programs, an end to "off the street" hiring of skilled and maintenance workers and establishment of up-grading programs meant to prepare production workers for entry into apprenticeship programs or other roads to skilled and higher paying jobs.

It was also felt by the panel that, given the fact that restructuring of basic industry had resulted in disproportionate layoffs of minority and women workers, that the fight for affirmative action had to be broadened and tied to a fight to end over time, for a shorter work week, to stop plant closings and the lay off of public workers. Panelists felt that constantly linking the fight for affirmative action to the broader struggles that can improve opportunities for all workers was key. It was felt that the demands and the fight has to be both unifying and offensive in nature - not defensive.

The need for shop floor level civil rights committees was expressed and with these committees fight for ways to "help compensate for the fact that workers have lost the social safety nets."

It was also felt by panelists that a continuing struggle was needed to make trade union leadership and policy making bodies better reflect the changes in the workforce, particularly to reflect the growth of women, African Americans and Latinos in the labor movement.

There were briefer discussions on the questions of organizing the unorganized, on international solidarity and on Party work in the trade union movement. In each of these area comrades felt more discussion was needed.

On organizing the unorganized, panelist stressed the importance of organizing in the South and the alliance of labor with the African American community in that effort. Repeatedly emphasized was the need for broad coordinated organizing campaigns that involve African American community organizations as well as Latino and women's groups.

Also stressed was the fact that shop by shop organizing was not sufficient and that, again coalition and coordinated approaches are key. The panel also agreed that moving the trade unions to develop approaches to organizing the homeless and the unemployed was important.

In the discussion on international solidarity, the point was repeatedly made that the transnational corporations are creating a climate of international competition between workers for jobs and that initiatives were needed to counter this development with greater forms and initiatives around international solidarity. Mention was made of the work of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO in campaigns like the 5 year battle at BASF, and the activity of the International Miners Organization around the Pittston strike, as offering examples of how US workers have benefited from such solidarity. This work needs to be supported, strengthened and brought to the local union level.

Stress was placed on our internationalist responsibility to aid unions, especially in

places like South Africa and Central America and on the need to challenge the pro-imperialist policies of the AFL-CIO international department. The fight to end discrimination against Communist and left led unions around the world was also stressed.

Given the changes that have taken place in the USSR, it was felt that there should be a fight for more contact and more ongoing relations between with US and USSR unions.

Finally, the panel felt that the crucial issues facing the upcoming session of the 102nd Congress needed special attention. The Civil Rights Bill of 1991, the Clay Metzenbaum bill outlawing permanent replacements for strikers, and the fight for National health care were stressed. The discussion focused on ways to bring the campaign for all three pieces of legislation down to the local union/community level. The staging of a nationwide day of action on health care by the Jobs With Justice movement was an example of the kind of activity needed in support of all three issues.

Time did not permit further discussion on a number of other topics and it was agreed that a further meeting or meeting were necessary.

**National Committee Panel on Class Struggle
Meeting, Dec. 8, 1990, Chicago, IL**

THE MINUTES OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE PANEL

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Attending were 13 comrades from 5 districts. [redacted]

[redacted]

participated.

There was a wide range of concerns and issues brought up in the morning and afternoon session. It was expressed at the conclusion that this session was a beginning and that a further meeting and exchange of ideas should be planned. It was decided that this summary would be sent to all who attended and to those who could not make it, and that more thoughts would be accepted by mail to be included in the preparation of the final report.

The main thread that ran through the discussion was the party's concepts on class struggle.

The key discussion points were raised in the following areas.

Global issues

- the impact on free trade on workers; example between US and Canada and Mexico.
- re-examine the role of multinationals, and the three major trading blocks: Europe, Asia and American Continent.
- need for international unions to fight international corporations. (eg. WFTU meeting in Mexico, late '91).
- recent events in Eastern Europe and the question it raises on the utility of Marxism.

Party issues:

- improve how we work with trade unions on an every day basis.
- do more to develop class consciousness and promote trade unionism among workers, including a party trade union school.
- do more to get trade unions to play bigger role in the community, the fight against environmental hazards, etc. with the view to build new alliances.
- deepen the understanding of the struggle for equality and the fight against racism and sexism.
- new components of the working class need to be reached.

Political

- the New Democracy party in Canada can be a model, a source to study.

- promote the idea of more labor leaders, including retirees, to run for public office.

- The Jackson campaign is a good example of trade unionists working in the political arena.

Biological tasks

- show that exploitation links workers, brings them together in the struggle.

- point out the new weaknesses in the capitalist system, eg. the S&L scandal.

- expose class collaboration i.e. that the interests of workers are linked to the interests of the ruling class, that the two main class share a common destiny.

- expose the divisive role of the ruling class and argue for the importance of unity of the multi-racial, multi-national, male-female working class against the ruling class.

Differences were expressed or questions were raised with regard to the following questions:

- concept of industrial concentration.

- concept of working class as a result of the scientific and technological revolution.

- African American equality as it relates to the class struggle.

- the party's estimate of the left within the trade union movement and the degree of development of class consciousness.

- whether there are basic challenges to the concept of the leading role of the working class and the class struggle as the framework for other struggles and movements.

- economic projections in the past, eg. were they dialectical, and how we see capitalism developing in the future and its significance for the class struggle.

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Recording Secretary:

END==

PEOPLE'S
DAILY

~~SECRET~~

World

7917 South Exchange Avenue • Chicago, Illinois 60617 • (312) 768-3800

Editorial Office

Wednesday Jan. 2, 1991

Dear [redacted]

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Now that the holidays are behind us, and I am over the cold that [redacted] bequeathed to me, we can get back in touch on new developments.

1. The Teamsters Union situation is getting real interesting. I met with a friend in a large local who is a strong supporter of the [redacted] slate for top offices in the Union. [redacted] of local 743 which has 22,000 members in the Chicago area and is an African-American, is running on the slate of [redacted] for the post of Trustee. [redacted] along with 300 others, attended the October meeting in New Orleans of the Teamsters Black Caucus (see enclosed article). The meeting was addressed by [redacted] and a special dinner honored IBT Vice President Mitchel Ledet who is African-American.

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My friend told me that [redacted] has pledged that if he is elected, he will name [redacted] to head the Southern Conference of Teamsters. [redacted] who is running for Secy-Treas. with [redacted] for President. has no Black's on his staff at Joint Council 25, and refused to name [redacted] to the Executive Board of his Joint Council.

My friend dismisses [redacted] as not supportive of Black concerns in the Union, and that [redacted] V.P. candidate was indicted for mob ties.

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I think it would be good if [redacted] would do a piece for the PW, focusing on the Black Caucus meeting in New Orleans and the issue of Black representation in the IBT. Such an article could help our friends in various parts of the country to note the distinctions between the various candidates for top office in the union. The delegates to the coming June Convention of the Union will be elected sometime this month (Jan.), and such an article can also be helpful in that regard.

2. Local 743 IBT adopted a resolution calling for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. The resolution was sent to the Chicago City Council which adopted it unanimously at its last meeting of 1990. I don't yet have a copy of the resolution but as soon as I do, I will send it on to you.

3. Expect to step up efforts to get a Labor Committee for [redacted] Mayor. Some steps have been taken but encountering resistance. Several trade unionists are also running for aldermanic positions.

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4. Intend to focus more on USX negotiations which have been resumed. Looks like the company intends to close out South Works and Fairless Hills, Pa. Will do a story on this this week for PW.

I read the New Yorker article on Dennis Rivera and found it good reading, and have made some copies here. Keep in touch.

CC- [redacted]

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[redacted]

Teamsters National Black Caucus

Stresses Unity, Seeks New Members



The 15th annual Teamsters Black Caucus saw a gathering of more than 200 delegates. Addressing the crowd was IBT Vice President Mitch Ledet.

The Teamsters National Black Caucus is sitting on a gold mine of strength—a potential membership of over 300,000 African-American Teamsters, according to estimates by Caucus leaders.

Signing up those Teamsters as members of the Black Caucus and fulfilling the organization's awesome potential became the primary goals that more than 200 delegates set for the Caucus at its 15th annual conference, held recently in New Orleans, Louisiana.

On the Move

"The Teamsters Black Caucus is



Edward "Doc" James, chairman of the Teamsters Black Caucus, addresses delegates and guests at the annual meeting.

on the move," Caucus Chairman Edward "Doc" James told the delegates. "We are enrolling new members and developing programs that will make the Black Caucus an even more vital force in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

Stressing that the "main goal" of the Black Caucus is "to improve on the Teamsters' tradition as the greatest union in the world," the Chairman encouraged the delegates that "together we are making a difference."

"Through our participation in all the activities of the Union, we have been able to focus attention on the needs and desires of Black Teamsters everywhere," he said.

International Vice President Mitchel Ledet, who was honored at a gala dinner concluding the Caucus gathering (see box), welcomed delegates from across the United States and Canada to his hometown of New Orleans. Ledet pointed out the irony in that the 15th annual meeting of the Teamsters Black Caucus was held in the very same room as the group's founding meeting. "There were 25 to 30 people here then," he recalled, surveying the crowd of more

than 200 delegates. "Today, we have arrived."

Support for South Africa

Vice President Ledet recently joined with his colleagues on the IBT's General Executive Board in adopting a resolution that supports the development of political pluralism and free trade unionism in South Africa. The resolution pledges that the Teamsters Union will:

- Continue support of political and economic pressure until apartheid is ended and a free, democratic, and just society is established;
- Support the strengthening of sanctions until apartheid joins segregation in the dust bin of history;
- Develop bilateral relationships with our sister unions in South Africa.

"Recogniz[ing] the difficult road ahead," in achieving these goals, the General Executive Board members resolved that "we are unwavering in our willingness to travel that road along with the social and political movements in South Africa that are engaged in the struggle for a multiracial, democratic society with vibrant, independent trade unions."



General Secretary-Treasurer Weldon L. Mathis updates delegates about developments at the International.



Robert Simpson, president, Local 743, Chicago, IL.

Speakers Encourage Unity

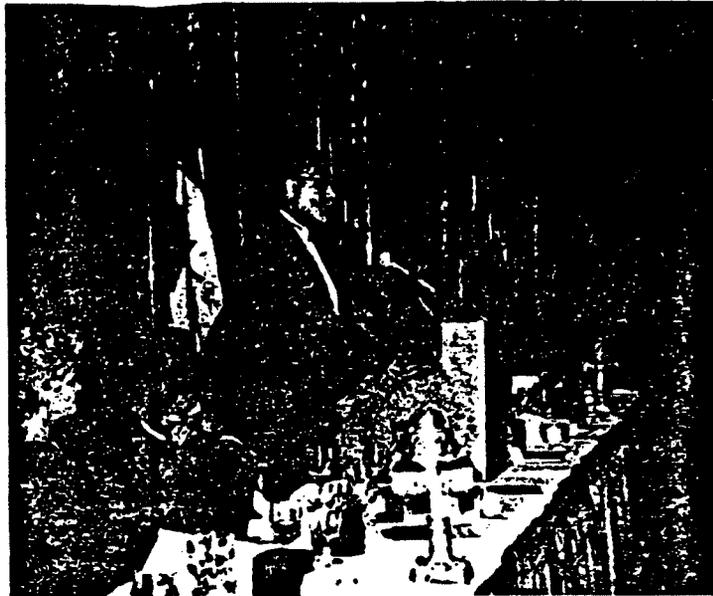
Several members of the IBT's General Executive Board attended the Black Caucus meetings, including Vice Presidents R.V. Durham, Edward Lawson, Frank Hackett and George Vitale. Introduced by Doc James as "a very close friend of the Teamsters Black Caucus," General Secretary-Treasurer Weldon L. Mathis reviewed the financial status of the IBT, and reiterated his commitment to Teamster members.

Organizing, Drive

Lou Richard, an international organizer, updated the Black Caucus delegates on the status of the organizing campaign involving the 12,000 employees at Overnite Transportation Company. Richard encouraged the delegates to get involved in this important campaign, particularly in making personal contact with Overnite workers.

Claude Brown, a representative of the IBT's DRIVE Department, addressed the delegates on the need to stay active in the Teamsters' political action program beyond the November elections. He also discussed several important pieces of legislation at both the federal

Black Caucus Honors Ledet



International Vice President Mitch Ledet (at microphone) was honored by the Teamsters Black Caucus at a special dinner. Shown seated are (from left): Mrs. Janet Ledet and Sidney Chism, SCT organizer.

The Teamsters Black Caucus honored International Vice President Mitchel Ledet at a dinner held in conjunction with the Caucus's 15th annual meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana.

At the dinner, Edward "Doc" James paid tribute to Vice President Ledet as "a close friend, and one of those rare individuals who combines his passion for living with his conviction for caring."

Teamsters and members of the New Orleans community have come to know the Vice President as an activist, serving his fellow citizens in a variety of roles. Highly involved in local civic and economic programs, he has served as a member of the Economic Development Council, the Governor's Study Commission on Ports, the Advisory Board of National American Bank, the Sewerage and Water Board, the Urban League of New Orleans, the Planning Commission of the City of New Orleans, the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross, and as a commissioner of the Regional Transit Authority.

Mitch Ledet became a member of Teamsters Local 270 in New Orleans as a truck driver in 1954. First becoming a business agent for the Local in 1965, he has served as its president since 1981. He has also served on the IBT's General Executive Board since 1984. A strong family man, with three daughters and two sons, he currently lives with his lovely wife Janet in New Orleans.

Proceeds from the dinner were donated to an educational foundation developed by Patrick F. Taylor, a Louisiana oilman, who is promoting a state program that guarantees the opportunity for disadvantaged children to attend college. The Teamsters Black Caucus sent a check for \$65,000 to the program.

Black Caucus

(continued)

and local levels, which affect the Teamsters Union and Teamster members.

An address by Robert Simpson, encouraging Teamsters everywhere to stay unified through the upcoming challenges facing the Union, was well-received by the Black Caucus delegates. President of Local 743 in Chicago, Illinois, Simpson told the delegates that, "We are not a separate entity from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; we are all working to build a larger, stronger International Union."

Reports from Area Conferences

The delegates also heard reports on the activities of the Black Caucus in each of the Teamster area conferences, including remarks by Eddie Kornegay of the Eastern Conference, Larry Weldon of the Western Conference, Sidney Chism of the Southern Conference, and Claude Brown of the Central Conference.

Doc James concluded the 15th annual conference of the Teamsters Black Caucus by announcing that next year's meeting will be held in Chicago.



Attendees at the Teamsters National Black Caucus listened carefully to speakers at the 15th annual conference. More than 200 delegates were at the New Orleans meeting.

OCAW delegation on tour of Soviet Union

Soviet Chemical and Oil-Chemical Industry Workers Union hosts 15-day trip for 6 rank-and-file OCAW members



The above photo shows the members of the OCAW trade union tour group in front of their bus at one of the stops along the way. From left: Osborn Tinsley, president of Chicago Heights, Ill. Local 7-765; delegation head William Taylor, president of Argo, Ill. Local 7-507; Virginia Robinson White, financial secretary of Cleveland, Ohio Local 7-622; Anthony Guillory, president of Beaumont, Texas Local 4-243; Sarah Adams, financial secretary of Brooklyn, N.Y. Local 8-712; and Roger Burton, president of North Kansas City, Mo. Local 5-617. At right: William Taylor listens as guide explains the workings of the control room in one of the chemical processing plants visited during the trip.



In July, six OCAW members made a 15-day trade union tour of the Soviet Union as guests of the Chemical and Oil-Chemical Industry Workers Union there.

Tour members visited cities all over the country, visiting plants and meeting with workers, union officials and other citizens.

Soviet workers and unionists were keenly interested in the structure and functioning of U.S. unions, said William Taylor, president of Argo, Ill. Local 7-507 and head of the OCAW delegation.

"Most of their questions were about union structure, rights of local unions in their relations with companies, and whether the workers, if they so choose,

can reject contract offers," Taylor said.

"The treatment extended to us was second to none," he said. "We were treated as union officials and as their guests. They made our stay a wonderful experience. Our food, lodging and travel while we were in the U.S.S.R. were picked up in total by the union.

"We think it was the trip of a lifetime. All of the delegates were happy they made the trip.

"The OCAW delegation worked well together and did an excellent job of representing OCAW and their country. I can't say enough about their conduct and the professionalism they exhibited." ■

an excellent reputation as an administrator and as spokesman for the union in Washington. He has been assistant to every Teamster president since James R. Hoffa. He currently serves as secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department in Washington.



DANIEL LIGUORTIS

Canal Commissioner
Shea was checked out thoroughly and cleared by both the FBI and CIA before being appointed commissioner of the Panama Canal.

Liguortis had been director of the Central States Conference of Teamsters until removed by President William McCarthy of the Teamsters in May.

The Central Conference includes 13 Midwestern states comprising one-third of the entire membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

William Joyce, secretary-treasurer of Chicago Teamsters Local 710 with a membership of 14,000, has met with Liguortis and will run for vice president at-large of the IBT on the Shea-Liguortis slate. McGinty said the move is seen as a sign that the Central Conference of Teamsters, with its 500,000 members, is gathering behind the Shea-Liguortis slate.

Can Do the Job
Joyce told reporters that "Danny and I have been together most of our lives. We want the

as the Rose Garden for the original dismissed as unfair by labor, Democrats.

we get a lot lately—"Why does labor answer is that they vote for the Congress or the General Assembly to give released the results of study the Urban League said analysis of its General Assembly showed that ad a better record on issues of priorities. Legislators were rated onocrats rated 96 to 27 for the score was Democrats 92, GOP 32. lid the study, but we got the same the COPE voting records.—R.L.K.

same things for our union. With the Central States and the East leading the way, and the support we will draw from the West and the South, we can do the job for our members all across the United States and Canada."

When asked why he is seeking higher office within the international union, Liguortis said, "What the International does affects every Teamster member."

"If we elect poor leaders to run this union in Washington, people think that's the way all Teamsters are. But, if we elect a slate of good people who run the union correctly, the public will see the Teamsters differently. Maybe then our members will get a better shake in Congress, at the bargaining table and on the picket line."

Did Not Resign
The Shea-Liguortis ticket will run against a slate handpicked by current President McCarthy, who reportedly plans to step down after the election in December 1991, according to Rory McGinty, legislative director of Joint Council 25. Contrary to what has been reported in some newspapers, McCarthy did not resign at the recent meeting of the union's International Executive Board in Florida.

The opposition is headed by B. V. Durham of North Carolina and Weldon Mathis of Atlanta, Ga. McGinty said, "Both states have 'right-to-work' laws and have many companies operating non-union."

Ronald Carey of New York City has also announced his candidacy for president of the Teamsters.

McGinty said, "Liguortis has earned a reputation for leadership, honesty and integrity by the way he has run Local 705 in Chicago. He has attracted support from both the old-line Teamsters who built the union and young members who have grown impatient with the union's problems over the past few years."

"Under the leadership of Liguortis, the Chicago area Teamsters have cooperated actively and generously in the political, organizational and community activities of the Chicago Federation of Labor."

In Service Industries

The largest numbers of women managers (2.1 million) are employed in the service industries such as business and repair services, personal services, entertainment and recreation.

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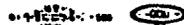
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The panel to discuss Racism: Nature and Role met on Saturday, December 8 in Chicago for one day. There were 10 panelists representing 4 states.

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[redacted] who were unable to attend. The letters were read and considered. Notes from the discussion were mailed to all invitees, those who attended and those who did not.

The panel will re-convene, at the recommendation of Lasker, the chairman, sometime in February. Whether panelists attended the December session or not, all are invited.

An outside observer eavesdropping on the discussion of our panel would have been impressed with the participants quantity and quality of experience, activity, as well as the sincere desire to become better fighters against racism and buttress their commitment to full racial equality. Perhaps it was that desire to become better fighters, that led to the atmosphere where there were no disagreements. We felt, however, there was a lack of depth and thus the decision to meet again.

Among many new ideas we thrashed out was one dealing with the 'new racism'. David Duke, the KKK candidate in Louisiana, not only changed his sheet for a 3 piece suit and a tie, but changed his line. The KKK used to proclaim that whites were genetically superior. Now, as evidenced in the Duke and Helms campaigns, they poison the air with the lie that African-Americans are taking jobs from whites: an all out attack on affirmative action. Why the change? Quoting one comrade, "The KKK has changed its line now because people do not accept the old racism any more. We changed society's consciousness. We have had a victory in defeating old racism."

Another comrade added, "The ruling class uses racism creatively, innovatively to increase their profits. The ruling class never underestimates the power of ideology." The ruling class has identified affirmative action as a key battle front. They have not only the KKK-Helms cross appeals to racism, but they sow confusion. The panel singled out at least 3 different definitions of affirmative action: 1. opportunity and training with quotas; 2. qualified with quotas; 3. qualified no quotas. There are probably more. Just on affirmative action and democracy - affirmative action programs with training and quotas takes a very important weapon away from the company or, in some cases government. It takes away favoritism where skilled jobs or cushy jobs are held out as rewards to workers for finking or mouthing the company line. It attacks the patronage system of political rewards in corrupt governments. It weakens the power of private ownership.

Racism is alive, just as capitalism is alive. To say that there has been a victory does not end racism. There are changes. There is an anti-racist trend. Panelists provided many, many examples from a neighborhood response to cross burning in Chicago to anti-Klan rallies in a rural Pennsylvania county to white leaders of construction unions arguing for affirmative action in city council chambers to the struggle for the USWA to appoint an African-American to a district directorship.

The party's policy in the struggle against racism and for equality has been and continues to be a fighting position. It is a policy based on building class unity in the class struggle and advancing the class struggle through class unity. Unlike social democrats, communists have challenged racism among white workers in the course of the election campaign, strike, peace action, organizing drive whatever form the struggle, whatever issue. The lesson is if racism isn't challenged, it will come back to haunt; that white workers can be won to see equality in their self interest. Fighting racism is a key component of building class consciousness.

Class is the anchor. Class over-rides national or racial identity. Two examples support this idea. In Detroit, Black owners of a Burger King franchise proved just as hostile to a union organizing effort as white owners and in Pittsburgh where African-American building contractors testified against affirmative action and prevailing wage.

Conditions of existence, especially the hopelessness of Black youth, combined with ruling class promoted images, like Willie Horton or the 10 second sound bite, create new challenges for us. We have to find a way to bridge the gap between Black and white workers. We have to ask what are the similarities between African-American and white workers from opposite ends of Chicago, for example? The empowerment of African-Americans comes with the empowerment of the class. How much political power depends on its degree of independence from the ruling class. There are several issues we did not discuss but can be placed on our next agenda including 'English only' and other issues impacting nationally and racially oppressed workers and the relationship between the centrality of the struggle against racism and class.

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COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

235 West 23rd Street
New York, New York 10011



January 18, 1991

To: All members of the National Committee
Re: Panel draft documents; NC Agenda

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are the draft panel documents or progress reports which were prepared as of this date. We are hoping to send others at the beginning of next week if they are ready. Otherwise, the remainder will be available at the National Committee meeting registration table on Friday, January 25.

The proposed agenda for the National Committee meeting is as follows:

Friday, January 25th:

9:30 - 12:30 -- Opening report by Gus Hall; Discussion on report

1:30 - 6 -- Continued discussion

7 - 8:30 -- Continued discussion

Saturday, January 26th:

9 - 12:30 -- Program Committee status report by James Jackson

Panel reports (10 reports at 10 minutes each)

Discussion

1:30 - 6 -- Continued discussion on Program Committee report and panels reports

7 - 8:30 -- Continued discussion

Sunday, January 27th:

9 - 12:30 -- Report on Convention Preparations

Report on insensitivity in the leadership

Discussion

1:30 - 4:00 -- Continued discussion

4:00 - 5:00 -- Summary and motions

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Panel on the national question and the African American people

There were 13 comrades in attendance. They came from NY, Eastern and Western Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland and Washington.

We began the meeting by listing the key questions that there were possible differences:

- a) centrality
- b) anti-racist majority
- c) industrial concentration
- d) struggle for parity

After much discussion we reached a consensus on most questions, with different emphasis by different comrades.

The essential conclusion was the re-affirmation of the Conference on Equality. The centrality of African American equality as stated in our constitution.

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Panel on New Thinking, Internationalism, Imperialism
Dec. 15-16, 1990, CPUSA headquarters, New York City

Fourteen comrades from seven states participated, and the panel received a written communication from another state. The panel agreed that its mission is to determine areas of agreement and disagreement, and to seek resolution of differences where possible.

In an initial round of discussion, there was general agreement that New Thinking represents an effort by the leadership of the Soviet Union, beginning as early as the early 1980s, to shift the basis for resolving international conflicts from the military to the political sphere. Some panelists believed this shift was made necessary and possible because of conditions of the nuclear age and the achievement of basic parity with military forces of the U.S. and other imperialist countries. Under these conditions the struggle for the role of universal human values or interests in the international arena is projected in a new way and is more possible of achievement.

The main view expressed was that New Thinking represents a development of Marxism-Leninism which has had mostly positive results in lessening the level of global and regional conflicts. This was seen as a logical extension of the 73 year Soviet peace policy. Many concerns were raised that some forces in the Soviet Union, especially among intellectuals, were distorting the concept of New Thinking and abandoning internationalism and capitulating to imperialism.

It was decided to focus discussion on the following questions.

Imperialism, Imperialist policy in the Gulf & other regional conflicts:

Imperialism has changed since Lenin's time, with the development of transnational corporations which now impinge on the decision making powers of imperialist states. Governments also use TNCs as fronts for their imperialist aims. This dialectical relation results in trends both to increased competition and increased transnationalization in the imperialist world.

The racist character of imperialism is revealed in its approach to regions including the Gulf, Latin America and most clearly in Africa, which has been deliberately maintained as the most underdeveloped continent. Anti-Arab racism is also revealed in U.S. imperialism's willingness to conduct a war of annihilation in the Gulf. Imperialism's stance of "blaming the victim" is revealed in its claims for debt repayment despite imperialist countries having extracted many times more wealth than the amount of the loans.

Imperialist intervention not only takes the form of troops, but also economic and political policies such as views on the presence or absence of sanctions (Nicaragua, Cuba, South Africa).

Many panelists believe that New Thinking has shown it can place obstacles in imperialism's way in certain regional conflicts and in bringing about the start of the disarmament process and lessening the likelihood of nuclear war. But problems have also developed, such as the substantial cut in Soviet aid to developing countries. And U.S. imperialism has not been deterred from attacks on Grenada and Panama and the slaughter of tens of thousands of Central Americans.

One aspect of the changed world situation is the heightened responsibility of the U.S. people to combat U.S. imperialism in all its aspects.

New thinking and Marxism-Leninism: continuity, discontinuity

There was a general consensus that New Thinking (important elements of which predate Gorbachev) has arisen within the context of Marxism-Leninism. Its essence was seen as a qualitatively new development of the socialist peace policy. It is based on the need to break deadlocks and shift the arena

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of conflict away from the military and toward political resolution of conflict. It became possible to do so because of changes in the world balance of forces (including, some panelists said, the USSR reaching basic parity with the U.S.). These efforts have been marked by both strengths and weaknesses. Overall, they have already resulted in curbing U.S. imperialism's mobility to some extent. It was noted that the USSR leadership sees struggle as necessary to achieve New Thinking's goals.

Substantial concern was expressed, however, at some recent developments in Soviet policy which move toward giving in to imperialism. It was pointed out that lack of understanding of the class struggle distorts some foreign policy decisions.

Considerable discussion was given to Soviet policy toward the gulf crisis, on which panelists continued to differ. Several panelists viewed the USSR's vote on the Nov. 29 U.N. resolution as clearly wrong; while others felt that the USSR approved the resolution as part of an effort to get Iraq out of Kuwait without war and believed conditions were attached which would press toward a peaceful resolution. Some felt it was not possible to characterize the Nov. 29 vote as either correct or incorrect.

Other areas of concern included a Eurocentric approach which is resulting in less attention to other areas of the world, the recently announced diamond deal with DeBeers, a weakening of the fight in the international arena against racism and for democracy and for a new economic order.

Economic aspects of Imperialism; class struggle & Internationalism

Panelists viewed internationalism as the challenge of the future for the world communist movement. In the absence of internationalism, nationalism and chauvinism proliferate.

Capitalists maintain their internationalism. Class struggle within capitalist countries and international working class unity and solidarity are more important than ever as transnational corporations play a growing role. Stronger trade unions, and stronger ties between trade unions internationally are needed. Because workers in capitalist countries are better off than workers and peasants generally around the world, stronger ties are needed particularly between U.S. workers and workers in developing countries. This is critical to putting an end to transnational corporate plunder of third world resources, superexploitation of workers in those countries and whipsawing plants, production and workers of different countries against each other.

New Thinking, which is based on the possibility of harmonizing interests and achieving cooperation, is very significant for international relations among trade unions.

Deideologization of foreign policy was generally felt to be impossible, because even if socialist countries would do so, imperialist countries do not and will not. Some of what appears to be deideologization is actually an effort to accommodate imperialism.

Panelists generally felt that it is necessary to differentiate between Soviet-U.S. government-to-government approaches to international issues and the class struggle internationally in which the CPSU is engaged.

One panelist suggested that we need to study the effect of the competition between the socialist and capitalist modes of economic production on state to state relations.

It was pointed out that state to state relations must deal with universal human values — which are the values of the working class — such as avoiding nuclear war, environmental catastrophe, problems of poverty and underdevelopment, etc. Left to its own devices, imperialism (with some exceptions) will not deal with these universal values. Imperialism's aim is maximizing profits, not elevating the quality of life of human beings. However, through struggle, imperialism can be forced to reach agreements and make concessions. The panelists unanimously agreed that the goal of disarmament by the year 2000 is necessary and achievable. Soviet peace policy led to the winding down of the cold war. The cornerstone

able to do so
USSR reaching
messes. Overall,
noted that the

(3)

of a working class party in a capitalist country must be to deepen working class solidarity, including the ideological struggle for unity in the international movement.

It was also noted that Soviet state to state policy is not automatically a defense of the working class on the foreign policy level. It was stated that the CPSU, as the USSR's governing party, is responsible to frame Soviet foreign as well as domestic policy which is positive toward the world's working people. As roles change, the CPSU should be responsible for ideological propaganda on the exploitative and warlike nature of capitalism.

New forms of "democracy" being projected by communist parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union need to be carefully evaluated for content, including attitudes of these parties to the fight against racism, nationalism, chauvinism and for national liberation.

One panelist noted that in certain situations, international survival issues might affect Soviet approaches to issues of national liberation. However, the general consensus was that there is no contradiction.

Considerable confusion has existed in the communist movement about the concept of "objective anti-imperialist positions" of such countries as Argentina (during the conflict with Britain over the Malvinas), the Philippines under Marcos, Iraq under Saddam Hussein, etc., leading in some cases to refusal to criticize these countries' repressive internal policies.

Universal human values/Interests & class interests

Universal human values/interests are also working class values/interests. In fact, the October 1917 Revolution was based on the universal human interest, peace. The anti-fascist struggle also had a universal character. Present efforts around the environment, human rights, women's rights, etc., are movements which bring together broad sectors and do not conflict with working class struggles. In fact, they aid them.

Its class interests push the ruling class in certain directions, but within the class there are contradictions concerning such universal interests as human survival, etc., which provide leverage for working class efforts.

The particular emphasis given universal human values by the USSR recently was seen by some as linked to the CPSU's efforts to overcome deficiencies in its own human rights policies. Universal human values must have real content and not just be rhetorical.

The working class sees the importance of all universal human values — the right to live in a world of peace without weapons of mass destruction, the right to a job, housing, health care, education, self-determination, trade union rights, a world free of racism and with full economic, social and political equality, etc., but the imperialists flout many of them. However, it was agreed that imperialism could be forced to retreat on all of these questions.

The view was also expressed that where contradictions exist in the ruling class over some of these issues, it is at least partly because that portion of the ruling class acting against the universal values fails to recognize its own interests.

Panelists had different views on whether there can be contradictions between class struggle tactics and peace tactics. One view held that fundamental contradictions do not exist, while another held that the two struggles, though related, are different, and that momentary contradictions can exist and cannot always be immediately resolved. Conversion of production and the fight for the peace dividend were seen as a way to link the two.

Universal human interests/values were seen as forming the basis for very broad united front actions in the international sphere, similar to the CPUSA's work to build the broadest possible coalition of

forces in the U.S.

We must also recognize that capitalists such as Armand Hammer may uphold such universal interests as peace, while pursuing blatantly anti-working class policies at home. . Similarly, capitalists are largely responsible for the ozone crisis and are not going to take the lead in resolving it. This affects the struggle for the New International Economic Order, which imperialism adamantly opposes.

Is the cold war over?

Participants generally agreed that the cold war, as a specific historical era of military threat by the imperialist countries against the USSR and the socialist countries, is receding. The arms agreements that have been achieved represent great victories.

But they felt that the aggressive nature of imperialism and its intentions to destroy socialism remain. It was pointed out that imperialism's cold war mechanisms remain intact: the drive for military domination including new mass destruction weapons systems, the agencies for political and ideological subversion.

Imperialism's threat is intensified in this period toward socialist and and progressively oriented developing countries including Cuba, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Libya and others. This includes subversion, funding contra operations, economic blockade, etc. The majority of the world's peoples endure the consequences of this attack in such forms as soaring child death rates, increased impoverishment, shorter life span, etc.

Its threat toward the socialist world, including countries where formerly governing communist parties are now in opposition, takes new forms including efforts to colonize them economically.

But the lessening of the cold war increases the possibilities to fight against the attack on the developing countries. For example, it is no longer possible to base appeals to the U.S. Congress to fight the Bush administration's war in Central America on East-West conflict.

Tactics for the CPUSA

The present developments provide great opportunities for our party to win the U.S. people over to new efforts on a range of foreign policy issues. Among these are the importance of using the United Nations and World Court as an arena of struggle in settling regional conflicts and preventing imperialist aggression, issues of democracy in international relations, conversion of economic production, the New International Economic Order and the fight against the debt. Workers in military-related industries should be a focus. We need much more emphasis on these issues in our party program and our day to day work.

We also face some new problems in winning other forces to socialism when they perceive that socialism is suffering setbacks elsewhere in the world.

Our party has a responsibility to articulate positions on basic human rights issues, to expose the character of U.S. imperialism and to overcome illusions of "democracy" and "human rights" in the United States.